

Class, Race and Black Liberation

HENRY WINSTON

Assemblage: Orozco/Tabie of Friendship



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Publisher's Note

In 1973, International Publishers issued *Strategy For a Black Agenda* by Henry Winston, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. Having gone through several U.S. printings as well as a number of translated editions abroad, the book—a powerful Marxist-Leninist critique of an assortment of new theories on the liberation of Black people in the United States and in Africa—created something of a sensation. It engendered a broad, ongoing and sharp debate within and beyond the liberation movements themselves.

Winston has welcomed this development as one that can lead to greater clarity and unity of action for the urgent needs of all U.S. working people. With this aim in mind, he has over the last few years stepped up his sharp polemics against the reassertion of old ideas dressed up in new garb, as well as some new theories and concepts which he believes cause confusion and danger for the momentous struggles waged by Black peoples everywhere. It is these new writings that constitute the present volume, *Class, Race and Black Liberation*

The Moynihan-Kissinger Doctrine

*I*f one searches out the particular significance of the Ford-Rockefeller-Kissinger appointment of Daniel P. Moynihan—the favorite sociologist of three previous presidents (one Republican, two Democrats)—as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, one must conclude that it lies in the following: The Administration is not only stepping up the application of the racist, ruling-class philosophy of the domestic Moynihan report internally but internationally as well.

Moynihan was selected to intensify the attack on what U.S. imperialism calls the "tyranny" in the United Nations of the "new majority"—the "third world" countries and the socialist camp—at the same time that Secretary of Defense Schlesinger is reactivating the Pentagon's nuclear first-strike policy against the Soviet Union. These steps demonstrate that the enemies of detente and peaceful coexistence conceive of this genocidal nuclear doctrine and the Moynihan doctrine as integral aspects of one policy.

The revival of Moynihanism and the nuclear first-strike strategy reveals that the struggle to make detente and peaceful coexistence irreversible has merged at a new level with the struggle to make decolonization and social progress irreversible.

During the 1960s, *The Moynihan Report* came up with an "analysis" of the condition of Black people in the United States that placed the blame for their intensifying problems not on the oppressor but the victims. The reasons for inequality in jobs, housing, education, etc., were—according to this report—not to be found in the class and racist

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structure of U.S. state monopoly capitalism but within the Black community. Now, casting according to type, the Administration has selected Moynihan to project an international counterpart of the racist concepts in his report, that is, to blame the widening economic gap between many of the underdeveloped and less-developed nations and the imperialist nations not on U.S. and world imperialism but on its victims.

In 1964, on the eve of U.S. imperialism's escalation of its "pacification" program in Vietnam, Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Moynihan, then Assistant Secretary of Labor, as head of a committee to develop a program for "pacification" of the Black masses, who refused to interpret the legal gains of the civil rights struggles as an end, but rather saw them as a new starting point in their long fight for the *substance* of equality.

This committee produced "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," which came to be known as *The Moynihan Report*. As its tactic, this report conceded that the lot of Black Americans had consisted of slavery followed by discrimination. But this belated official recognition of a 300-year history of oppression was accorded not to point up the government's obligation for a national program to wipe out inequality—but instead to project new, more subtle racist rationalizations for the government's persistent refusal to take affirmative action.

The report achieved its goal by obscuring the fundamental fact that the extension of Black inequality from the past into the present is directly connected with capitalism, with the racist policies of monopoly and its two-party domination of the electoral process. Instead, the report contended that the source of inequality lies in the Black "family structure."

By its racist interpretation of the Black condition (including the manipulation of statistics), the report was invaluable to the monopolists in their aim of reversing the gains of the civil rights struggles rather than carrying out economic and social measures against racism and inequality.

Having absolved monopoly of responsibility for Black inequality, the report sought to divert the growing demand for national action against racism and poverty by a call for "action" that would be turned against the Black community.

The Question of the Family Structure

In developing its racist theme that the solution of the Black condition lies not in an anti-monopoly struggle but within the Black "family structure," *The Moynihan Report* stated:

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At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time. Three centuries of injustice have brought about deep-seated structural distortions in the life of the Negro American. . . . The cycle can be broken only if these distortions are set right. In a word, a national effort toward the problems of Negro Americans must be directed toward the question of the family structure.

By picturing the Black condition of inequality as arising within the Black "family structure," this report identified the *results* of oppression as the *cause* of oppression. Thus, it runs head on into the fact that Black family life—despite the "distortions" caused by 200 years on the auction blocks of Northern slave traders and Southern slave owners, followed by more than 100 years of racist economic, social and political pressures of genocidal proportions—has shown a matchless capacity for survival through struggle!

Among its numerous contributions to racism, *The Moynihan Report* labeled the Black community a "tangle of pathologies." (This is a phrase Moynihan took over from the writings of Dr. Kenneth Clark. Clark used it in an anti-racist sense, but because the phrase has no scientific *class* content Moynihan was able to twist Clark's intent into its opposite.)

Now, courtesy of Moynihan, we have yet another racist stereotype at large in the land, aimed at covering up the fact that the "tangle" of institutionalized racism generated by monopoly is the source of inequality.

A Coordinated Reappearance

It is hardly coincidental that before Moynihan was named U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, a widespread and apparently coordinated campaign to reactivate his racist sociology was under way. The meaning of this move can be fully appreciated only if one remembers that when *The Moynihan Report* originally appeared it received immediate condemnation from the Black liberation movement and its allies. As a result, its presence was camouflaged, at least in "respectable" circles, for almost a decade.

Now the report's philosophy appears more and more openly in the mass media and in the writings of the journalistic, academic and political supporters of monopoly in both its parties—including their "liberal" circles. This phenomenon undoubtedly bolsters those currents in the Democratic and Republican parties competing for the favors and even the presidential candidacy of George Wallace.

In this connection, *Fortune* magazine, in its special bicentennial issue (April 1975) carried several articles by both "liberal" and conservative writers reflecting the Moynihan thesis. This was especially evident in the way these articles interpreted the facts and figures showing the widening gap between white and Black income over the past decade.

Among the articles dealing with the present status of Black people, the one by Juan Cameron—"Black America: Still Waiting for Full Membership"—emerges as an example of the "liberal" revival of the Moynihan doctrine. (Even its title reflects one facet of the "tangle" of lies monopoly propagates about Black people: Black Americans are not "waiting" for anything; they are fighting for everything they are entitled to!)

In large type on the opening page, the following editorial comment appears:

[The] . . . achievements [of Black Americans] are still clouded, however, by widespread discrimination—and the seemingly *unsolvable* plight of the poor. (Emphasis added—H.W.)

For the brief period from 1965 to 1969, "black income was drawing somewhat closer to average white income," states Cameron—ignoring the fact that even this temporary advance was brought about only by the strength of the civil rights struggles.

On the one hand Cameron makes it appear that this short-lived narrowing of the gap between Black and white income applied to Black people as a whole, instead of only a small minority. However, he points out that even from 1965 to 1969 the "gap was widening *within* the black community." (Emphasis in the original.)

He puts the blame for this on the Black masses, describing the income gap as "between the able and less able"—covering up the fact that monopoly responded to massive pressure from Black people as a whole with limited advancement for only a tiny percentage. With this coverup, Cameron buttresses his thesis of the seemingly "unsolvable plight of the poor" in still another way.

In true "liberal" fashion, Cameron appears to make a relatively frank admission about the condition of Black people only to go on to another "tangle" of lies. For instance, he concedes that "Blacks were hit harder than whites by the 1970 recession." He then adds, "Whites haven't done very well either, thanks to recession and roaring inflation."

But far from admitting that Blacks have been hit even harder by "roaring inflation" than whites, Cameron asserts they have found a way to beat it:

According to one recent study, blacks living on welfare can afford more than twice as much in the way of goods and services as welfare families could in 1947.

According to Cameron, neither massive unemployment, "roaring inflation," nor the omnipresent barriers of racism are the cause of the income gap. Echoing Moynihan, he claims, "One continuing drag on black income, and perhaps the most important, is family instability."

Cameron then proceeds to help monopoly put even more bolts on the door leading to the allegedly "free" and "open" society. He suggests no programs to counter the current depression-scale unemployment (in fact, this is a subject he doesn't even mention). Instead, he encourages monopoly in its drive to cut back on welfare—as a stimulus to Blacks to go out and get jobs! He states: "It would not seem beyond the political imagination to draw up a welfare program that encouraged work and stable families. . . ."

Cameron goes on to speak of "white attitudes"—but hides the fact that these "attitudes" are fostered by the racist monopolists' control of government, institutions and media. Further, he tries to make these "attitudes" appear acceptable instead of racist by stating, "To whites it seems only rational to be wary of school integration in a city like New York . . ."

While he seems to concede a possible need for change in these "attitudes," he consigns the task of bringing this about to "time": "White attitudes will no doubt continue to change over time . . ."

But "time" can be used to advance either the interests of the masses or the monopolists; Cameron, in true Moynihan style, attempts to place it in the service of the latter—by putting the responsibility for overcoming racist "attitudes" on its victims: ". . . the *crux of the problem lies somewhere in the ghetto . . . somewhere in . . . the tangle of pathologies there.*" (Emphasis added—H.W.)

This racist concept is aimed not only at the doubly and triply oppressed Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Native American Indian peoples. That its real purpose is to divide the oppressed and exploited of *all* colors, to divert them from a united struggle for an alternative to their plight, is confirmed when Cameron states: "Unfortunately, nobody knows how to work any dramatic improvement in such an underclass, *whatever the racial makeup.*" (Emphasis added—H.W.)

In this article Cameron is writing directly for the ruling class, at whose center are the top 500 national and transnational corporations for which *Fortune* magazine serves as a virtual house organ. This is why he

can openly acknowledge that for monopolists the masses of workers—"whatever the racial makeup"—are an "underclass."

This admission exposes the indivisibility of capitalism and racism. It reveals that racist and class oppression are interconnected features of monopoly rule, and that racist doctrine and practices are inherent in capitalism's drive for profits and super-profits.

Racism and anti-Communism, monopoly's twin weapons, have a special function in the present era of the general crisis of capitalism and the rise of the world system of socialism—when the world revolutionary process, composed of the socialist camp, the working classes of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements, is on the ascendancy. Its aim is to divide the working class—"the underclass, whatever its racial makeup"—and to separate the international working class and the liberation movements from their allies and most advanced contingents: the working classes in power in the socialist countries, from Moscow to Berlin, from Hanoi to Havana.

Daniel Bell, Gerald Ford and Moynihanism

Another article in this same issue of *Fortune* is "The Revolution of Rising Entitlements," by Daniel Bell, a Harvard sociology professor and former associate editor of *Fortune*, whose previous writings hailed the presumed advent of a "post-industrial society" in which a managerial and technocratic elite would displace both corporate monopoly and the working class.

Now Bell has found yet another way to assist the monopolists in their impossible task of preventing the working class from displacing them: he joins those who are adapting the Moynihan doctrine to the current crisis of U.S. and world imperialism. Bell warns *Fortune's* corporate readers that:

... the promise of equality has been transformed into a revolution of rising "entitlements"—claims on government to implement an array of newly defined and vastly expanded social rights.

He then goes on to state that:

... demands, furthermore, are now defined as rights. Clearly, the demand for equality now goes far beyond equal opportunity, or protection against unfair hazards. Too many Americans who got that protection still came out losers. What is now being demanded is equality of results—an equal outcome for all. (Emphasis in the original.)

To argue directly against enforcement of equal opportunity measures would expose Bell's racist aims too blatantly. So he disguises his objectives in the pseudo-radical concept of utopian equalitarianism—equality of "result" for individuals.

Science has, of course, long since proven that all races are equal. But because individuals of whatever racial or national group have varying capacities, "equality of result" on an individual basis is an obvious impossibility. When Bell substitutes individual "equality of result" for that of an entire group, he is injecting a false issue to perpetuate a system with built-in inequality for Blacks and all oppressed minorities.

A comparison between this view and *The Moynihan Report* exposes their racist identity. *The Moynihan Report* is simply more blatant in stating the same concept: "The members of one group almost invariably end up well to the fore, and another far to the rear."

Thus Moynihan and Bell concur in the racist view that inequality is inherent in Black people. (Bell has the insolence to speak of "protection against unfair hazards." As he well knows, Black people have never gotten a single shred of "protection" from monopoly against the "unfair hazards" of racism!)

That President Ford's staff of writers and advisers is well steeped in the Moynihan-Bell doctrine is confirmed in the introduction to *Fortune's* special bicentennial issue, when managing editor Robert Lubar writes:

Daniel Bell sees the possibility of a political crisis developing as government is more and more drawn into the role of satisfying, not just public needs, but multitudinous private "wants" as well. A similar concern is very much on the mind of President Gerald Ford. (R. Lubar, "Editorial," *Fortune*, April 1975)

To illustrate this point, he cites the following statement from an interview in the same issue with the President: "... by the year 2000, 50 percent of the people will be living off the other 50 percent." In this remark Ford asserts that, on one hand, monopoly will have no jobs for 50 percent of the people while, on the other, it aims at drastically cutting back on social services.

Imposing this perspective on the people would obviously require reactionary measures. And since monopoly will try to maintain its power by any means necessary, this could include steps in a pro-fascist direction. But every day brings fresh evidence that the masses will not submit to this!

Speaking of desegregation in the same interview, Ford said: "Raising expectation is a serious matter. When you set a timetable or a goal you do raise expectations." The monopolists, in other words, have

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no "timetable" for ending segregation. Their "timetable" calls for maintaining it forever!

In another interview—"marking the approach of his first anniversary as the nation's only appointed President," as *The New York Times's* James M. Naughton put it—Ford himself demonstrated how the circle closes from the "liberal" Bell to the ultra-right:

QUESTION: . . . What is your personal view about [George Wallace's] campaign philosophy, approach, and is there a dime's worth of difference between you and him?

THE PRESIDENT: I think we have a good many similarities. (*The New York Times*, July 25, 1975.)

Daniel Bell and "Rising Entitlements"

Although Moynihan himself does not deal directly with the question of "rising entitlements" as it applies to white as well as non-white masses, Daniel Bell does—and in so doing extends racist, anti-working class Moynihanism into yet another area.

Basing himself on the premise that the people's demands cannot be met, Bell assists the ruling class in its aim of containing "the revolution of rising entitlements." Ignoring the massive need for jobs, the relationship between inflation and corporate profits and the gigantic military expenditures, he claims that "every imaginable anti-inflationary policy impinges on the welfare of some major interest group." In reality, of course, an "anti-inflationary policy" would "impinge" on the "welfare" of only one "major interest group"—the tiny minority of monopolists.

Social programs also "impinge" on the "welfare" of the monopolists—and Bell assists the ruling class in developing a rationale for cutting back on them. Stating that social programs can be financed only through higher taxes or economic growth, he asserts:

. . . paradoxically, economic growth may be the source of a distinctive "contradiction" of capitalism—a contradiction that may prove to be its undoing. For growth has become inextricably linked with inflation, and it seems unlikely that any democratic society can abolish inflation without disastrous political consequences. (D. Bell, "Revolution of Rising Entitlements," *Fortune*, Apr. 1975)

Obviously, Daniel Bell equates "democracy" with continuing monopoly domination of the nation's social, economic and political life.

Bell speaks ominously of the "dilemma associated with economic growth and inflation." Should an attempt be made to break out of the allegedly insoluble "contradiction" between economic growth and more

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inflation or the further slowing of economic growth and the escalation of unemployment, Bell foresees only "danger."

Bell has indeed presented the "dilemma" confronting the ruling class. But a different "dilemma" confronts the people: the "dilemma" created by monopoly's control of both the economy and government.

A massive independent people's alternative to the two parties of the ruling class would most certainly result in "undoing" monopoly's stranglehold. Bell reveals monopoly's fear of such a formation when he warns that "one third of the electorate now designates itself as 'independent.'" Far from bringing the "disastrous political consequences" Bell predicts, an anti-monopoly alternative is the only way to block still greater onslaughts against the people's rights and living standards. Bell inadvertently confirms this when he states:

. . . it has become increasingly clear in recent years that the revolution of rising entitlement may become unmanageable. . . . If this process is not reversed, it will work to undermine the legitimacy of our society.

When Bell asserts that this "process" must be "reversed," he is pointing in the direction of pro-fascist measures. Only through mass struggle for an independent alternative can the people prevent this drastic "reversal" of their rights. Without such a struggle to "undermine" the "legitimacy" of monopoly's control of government, it is impossible to combat unemployment, inflation, poverty and racism.

Contrary to Bell, "economic growth" is crucial to meet the vast needs of the people. *Only the monopolies profit from production that diverts from instead of helps to meet the people's expanding needs.*

When the Bells and Moynihans distort this issue—which is at the heart of the crisis facing the people—their aim is "undoing" the people's struggle against the intensifying disaster synonymous with monopoly rule.

The source of escalating inflation, taxes, unemployment, poverty and racist oppression is the class and profit aims of U.S. imperialism, based on exploitation and national oppression, domestically and internationally. Inherent in capitalism, these factors are aggravated by monopoly control and militarization of the economy.

The advance of socialism and working class and national liberation struggles culminated in U.S. imperialism's defeat in Indochina and the end of the 500 year-old Portuguese empire in Africa. But the Moynihan doctrine reflects U.S. imperialism's resistance to accepting detente and the independence struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America as irreversible.

The U.S. imperialists began to impose the disastrous burden of

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non-economic growth on the people with the cold war. They escalated it with their intervention in Korea, Indochina and Latin America, with their support of Israeli aggression in the Mideast, and with NATO armaments directed against socialism and the liberation movements. Now Moynihan aims at expanding non-economic growth as a dominant feature of U.S. monopoly capitalism.

The cost of diverting the major part of the U.S. economy to non-economic production has already been incalculable in terms of lives and the living standards of the peoples of the world and the United States. Now the Moynihan doctrine would impose on the United States the permanent disaster of an economy geared to expanding armaments and to subsidizing economic and political intervention against the world socialist and liberation struggles.

Bell claims that inequality, inflation and unemployment are "inextricably linked" with democracy. On the contrary, they are "inextricably linked" with monopoly, while the struggle to meet the people's needs is inextricably bound up with the fight to expand democracy against the new combination of racist ultra-rightists within the two parties who aim at a neo-fascist "answer" to the demands of the oppressed and exploited.

"Putting the Cuffs on"

The relationship of Moynihanism to the increased aggressiveness of the most racist and reactionary forces in the country is confirmed in yet another article in *Fortune's* special bicentennial issue, titled "Putting the Cuffs on Capitalism," by Walter Guzzardi, Jr.

Predictably, the article reflects monopoly's concern with "putting the cuffs" on the millions of oppressed and exploited searching for a way to take monopoly's "cuffs" off the industries that determine this country's economic life.

Only socialism can put an end to the contradictions of capitalism. But a struggle to "cuff" monopoly, a fight for a program of nationalization, would begin to curb inflation and expand economic growth and jobs. This would open up new possibilities for strengthening democracy—for making the struggle for an economic solution, for equality and peace, irreversible. It is such a perspective that troubles *Fortune* magazine: "The troublesome prospect," writes Guzzardi, "is that government will continue ceaselessly to expand its frontiers." Guzzardi knows very well that government has absolutely no plans to "expand its frontiers"—to provide the jobs, social services, etc., that the people demand. What is so "troublesome" to him is that the growing

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strength of the people's movements, unless ruthlessly checked, may force certain concessions from government. He states:

Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, says that "capitalism is in crisis." Greenspan fears that we may now stand at "the point of discontinuity." (Emphasis added—H.W.)

To understand what Greenspan means by the "point of discontinuity," one must know more about his credentials than Guzzardi tells us. The fact is that Greenspan is a disciple of Ayn Rand, a long-time ideologue of an American type of fascism.

In using this phrase, Greenspan subtly reveals that there are currents on Wall Street and in Washington who fear that the continuation of bourgeois democracy is an obstacle to monopoly's class interests and should be *discontinued*. His presence in Washington is in fact symbolic of those currents pushing for an historic "discontinuity" of bourgeois democracy, for an ultra-right, even a fascist, solution to the crisis of capitalism.

Guzzardi then tries to win "liberal" sentiment for Greenspan's views by exploiting the liberals' fear of the masses and their demands.

A somewhat similar concern is shared by Otto Eckstein, a former member of the Council, who is a Democrat and a liberal. He argues that the capitalist system these days is being rocked by ever greater waves of change, rolling in faster and faster. Eckstein points out that the system is still groping for ways to accommodate consumerism and environmentalism . . . which have come crashing down heavily on it in the last few years. And while it is groping, the system is being overtaken by still another movement, which Eckstein now sees gathering force . . . a movement "to change the distributions of wealth and income." (Emphasis added—H.W.)

Guzzardi then adds:

Such sequences of rapid change are putting the capitalist system to its hardest test and, Eckstein fears, they may "hasten the day when the individual foundation of the society is gone."

Of course, "individual foundation" is merely a euphemism for monopoly. As Eckstein and Guzzardi know, even if it once existed for a minority, the so-called individual foundation of the society has long since been replaced by state monopoly capitalism.

As for a movement "gathering force" to change the "distributions of wealth and income," certainly it is! Tens of millions are seeking an alternative to the two-party syndrome that supports the policies of state monopoly capitalism. Via these policies, monopoly appropriates a greater and greater proportion of the wealth produced by the working class. Then it uses taxes and inflation as re-distribution methods—that

is, as ways to take back more and more of the small amount that goes into the workers' pay envelopes. This is the re-distribution system by which imperialism subsidizes its aggression against the people's movements for liberation and for economic and social progress.

Liberals who express alarm at anti-monopoly movements have been pulled within the orbit of those reactivating Moynihanism. This doctrine in all its variants feeds the pro-fascist Greenspans and all anti-labor, racist forces trying to move the country in an ultra-right direction. These forces aim to make 1976 the year of "discontinuity," the time for moving closer to their goal of doing away with the people's rights and "entitlements."

In the same *Fortune* article Guzzardi not only castigates as a threat to the system any measure that would even slightly alleviate the people's dire conditions, but he also greets another proposal to bring still more wealth back to monopoly.

A certain Felix Rohatyn, Guzzardi reports, has "suggested a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation," which would use government funds to assist private corporate capital. Rohatyn, a partner in Lazard Frères, international bankers, and a director of ITT and several other giant corporations, is presently on the board of "Big Mac," the so-called Municipal Assistance Corporation through which the bankers create crises in order to seize more and more wealth from the people of New York City.

After endorsing this added way of "distributing" profits to monopoly, Guzzardi complains that:

The fastest-growing segment of spending nowadays is transfer payments—money that the government spends, but for which it receives no return in goods or services, such as Social Security and welfare payments. *Representing a movement of resources from the productive to the non-productive sectors of the economy*, these payments reached \$117 billion last year. (Emphasis added—H.W.)

This *Fortune* writer attacks the woefully inadequate funds going for social services, but does not mention the transfer of *thousands of billions* over the past couple of decades from the productive sector to the non-productive armaments and aggression sector. This continuing upward spiral of re-distribution of resources from the productive to the non-productive sector is paralleled by another monopoly-induced spiral: unemployment and poverty for increasing masses of people.

However, Guzzardi is not unaware of these millions. In fact, he expresses *Fortune's* "compassion" for the poor when he writes:

... [a] young economist, Richard Zeckhauser, points out that regulations are especially hard on the poor—housing standards, for

example. "The poor are forced to buy higher quality at the expense of convenience and space," he says. . . . Zeckhauser also points out that by subsidizing nursing homes for the elderly . . . "the government is providing the elderly with incentives to move to situations more expensive to society . . ." And when the government subsidizes day-care centers . . . it produces a comparably undesirable result.

This article ominously spells out all the social measures monopoly is trying to cut back on, measures affecting the employed, those shut out of the economy and the retired.

And the article's pro-fascist direction is clearly revealed when it states:

The free enterprise system . . . carries with it some *penalties* . . . unemployment among them. If we are not willing to suffer the *penalties*, then we cannot have free enterprise. (Emphasis added—H.W.)

Of course, the monopolists are not among the "we" who "suffer the penalties." The "we" refers to the masses of the people, particularly the doubly and triply oppressed minorities.

Monopoly's View of the "Class Gap"

The threat of still greater economic, social and political "penalties" comes not only from the openly racist, rightist forces of the two major parties, but also from a "liberal" direction.

Take, for instance, *The Real America*, a book by Benjamin J. Wattenberg, a founder and co-chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority. Wattenberg also served as an aide and writer for President Johnson, and as an aide to Senators Hubert Humphrey and Henry Jackson (whose image is being "liberalized").

Like Moynihan, Bell, Guzzardi, et al., Wattenberg believes that the onus for their condition lies on the masses, especially Blacks, and not on the system. Consequently the masses, particularly the most oppressed sections, must "suffer the penalties." Wattenberg writes:

A movement for middle-class whites to be fair to middle-class blacks has a chance; the appeal for middle-class whites to play Lord and Lady Bountiful to lower class blacks is neither a happy nor productive relationship for either group. (*The Real America*, by Benjamin J. Wattenberg, Doubleday, New York, 1974, p. 151)

No "appeal" was ever made by Black people for middle-class whites to play "Lord and Lady Bountiful" to them! On the contrary, Black people have fought against patronization in every form!

But Wattenberg is demagogic as well as crudely racist, which

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becomes apparent if one notes that middle-class whites are in no position to play "Lord and Lady Bountiful" to anyone, even to themselves! Their own situation is daily becoming more precarious, and to prevent it from becoming a full-scale disaster the middle class must become part of a great anti-monopoly struggle based on labor and the oppressed peoples.

Wattenberg also asserts:

As blacks have moved in massive numbers into the middle class, they are moving (with resistance) into white neighborhoods, moving (with resistance) into white schools, moving (with resistance) into white jobs. Given these facts, is it still *useful* (let alone valid) to incant again the old stereotype of black poverty? (Ibid., p. 151. Emphasis added—H.W.)

Useful only to monopoly, this fantasy of "massive numbers" of Blacks moving into middle-class status is designed to cover up the increase in unemployment, poverty and discrimination, and to conceal its source.

Closing his book on a note that carries echoes of both George Wallace and Daniel Moynihan, Wattenberg states that "the only rational solution to the race problem . . . [will] occur as the *class gap narrows*." (Emphasis added—H.W.) This is, of course, an outlook that neither Black nor white masses will find encouraging; it is obvious that the "class gap" between monopoly and the masses of whatever color is increasing.

Clearly, in its current and even more racist, anti-labor variations, Moynihanism is monopoly's call for the victims of the system to "suffer the penalties" ever more sharply. Instead of "pie in the sky," today's ideologists for U.S. monopoly offer the oppressed and exploited a new version of gradualism; that is, their condition will improve under capitalism when "the class gap narrows"!

Moynihan and the "New Majority"

A decade after *The Moynihan Report* provided the updated racist stereotypes required by monopoly for its domestic strategy, a sequel appeared: an article by Daniel P. Moynihan in *Commentary*, March 1975, which adapted the original Moynihan doctrine to the world scene.

The appearance of the new "Moynihan Report" coincides with the massive reactivation of the original doctrine by government agencies, political figures in both parties, and the media. Supported by the writings of respectable academic circles, this doctrine is now winning

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acceptance from many who have avoided identification with the crudely put racism of the Jensens and Shockleys.

Confirmation of the relationship between reactivation of *The Moynihan Report* internally and its extension internationally can be found in Moynihan's nomination as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations less than a month after publication of his *Commentary* article.

In giving his views on how the crisis of U.S. and world imperialism should be confronted, Moynihan began by stating:

If one were to characterize the discomfiture and distress with which Americans responded to the events of the 29th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1974, some measure would have to be attributed to the discovery that a vast majority of the nations of the world feel there are claims which can be made on the wealth of individual nations that are both considerable and threatening—in any event threatening to countries such as the United States which regularly finds itself in a minority (often a minority of one or two or at most a half-dozen) in an assembly of 138 members.

The tyranny of the U.N.'s "new majority" has accordingly been deplored. . . . (D. Moynihan, "The U.S. in Opposition, *Commentary*, March 1975)

Having defined his fears of the "tyranny" of a "vast majority" over a tiny imperialist minority, Moynihan proceeded to adapt to the "third world" some of the domestic concepts he projected ten years ago.

In his original report Moynihan denied the Black minority's rightful claim to political and economic equality in the United States by naming the Black community, not state monopoly capitalism, as the source of inequality.

Now Moynihan denies the "third world" nations their rightful claim to political and economic equality by disavowing U.S. and world imperialism's responsibility for their present inequality. Although Moynihan admits that colonialism existed prior to political independence, he places the blame for continuing inequality not on imperialism and neo-colonialism, but on its victims in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The leadership of the newly independent nations (comprising the largest part of the "new majority") shares a common ideology, according to Moynihan, in the first phase of independence. He states:

. . . it may be argued that what happened in the early 1970s is that for the first time the world felt the impact of what for lack of a better term I shall call the British revolution. . . . To a quite astonishing degree [the independent states] were ideologically uniform, having

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fashioned their politics in terms derived from the general corpus of British socialist opinion as it developed in the period roughly 1890-1950.

In a footnote, Moynihan acknowledges that,

The term British revolution is open to objection as seeming to exclude the influence of continental socialism on the new nations and indeed a good case could be made for calling the phenomenon I am trying to describe the revolution of the Second International. But the term British can be justified by the fact that of the 87 states to have joined the U.N. since its founding, more than half—47—had been part of the British Empire. (Emphasis added—H.W.)

Although factually only 18 of these 87 states were "part of the British empire," it is not just Moynihan's statistical method that is of interest but his political strategy, which meshes with the Maoists' great-power chauvinist strategy.

Whatever the differences in the Maoists' goals and those of U.S. imperialism, both conceive of anti-Sovietism as central to their respective strategies. Consequently, both Maoism and imperialism aim at undermining the growing unity between the national liberation movements, the working classes in the advanced capitalist countries and the socialist camp.

Thus both Moynihan and the Maoists falsify the liberation process, the latter under cover of left rhetoric. The Maoists proclaim, with patronizing flattery, that the "third world" liberation struggles, unrelated to the world revolutionary process at whose center is the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, account for the collapse of the colonial empires. Moynihan deletes both the liberation struggles and the socialist camp as factors in the "third world" countries achieving their independence. Instead, he says that "a third of the nations of the world owe their existence to a statute of Westminster."

In this same vein, Moynihan credits the achievements of independence to the "influence" of the Second International. Of course, wherever that ideology has played a role it has been as a force *countering* the revolutionary process.

Superficially there appears to be a contradiction between Moynihan's endorsement of the influence of what he calls "British socialism" (or the "revolution of the Second International") in the newly independent countries and his attack on the "tyranny" of the "new majority." However, the explanation for this lies in the great changes in the emerging nations since they achieved independence in the late fifties, marking the beginning of the end for the empires in which European imperialism predominated. Since that time U.S. imperialism has made

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advances in the "third world" at the expense of the "third world" countries and of British, French, German and Japanese neo-colonialist interests.

In this way the Moynihan doctrine reflects U.S. imperialism's response, along with its NATO cohorts and competitors, to the profound changes in the underdeveloped countries since the early sixties. Now imperialism is increasingly faced with a "third world" leadership more and more directly influenced by the struggles of the masses.

The Moynihan doctrine is aimed at stemming the tide of these new developments. Especially is it directed against the new level of unity between the socialist camp and the African, Asian and Latin American liberation movements. What U.S. imperialism views as the "tyranny" of the "new majority" is in reality the liberating force of this unity.

Let "Bygones Be Bygones"

Only Moynihan's boundless chauvinism could lead him to believe that he projects any credibility when he writes:

As the 20th century wore on and the issue of independence arose with respect to these specific peoples and places, it was most often the socialists who became the principal *political* sponsors of independence. It was a Labour government which in 1947 granted independence to India and formally commenced the vast, peaceful revolution that followed. (Emphasis in the original.)

With this interpretation, Moynihan arrogantly erases the long history of the liberation struggles, replacing it with a portrait in which British imperialism and its right-wing social democratic administrators benignly "grant" independence to former colonies. At the same time, he fails to mention, let alone explain, the status of the so-called Republic of South Africa, which was part of the British Empire. When British imperialism "granted" independence to its colonies it simultaneously initiated policies, with the help of U.S. and West German imperialism, that economically and militarily reinforced the apartheid, fascist South African regime.

Moynihan also omits mention of U.S. imperialism's partnership with Britain in the continuing suppression of the Black majority in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and of NATO's role in supporting, for a quarter century, fascist Portugal's war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, accompanied by a decade of U.S. genocidal aggression in Indochina.

Wondering why those in the "third world" who were influenced by "British socialism" had lost political ground, Moynihan says:

Now it is possible to imagine a country, or collection of countries, with a background similar to that of the British colonies, attaining independence and then letting bygones be bygones.

Moynihan attributes the "third world's" refusal to let "bygones be bygones" to the following:

On the edges of the movement there were those who saw the future not just in terms of redistribution, but of *something ominously close to looting*. In any event, *the past was by no means to be judged over and done with. There were scores to be settled. Internally and internationally.* (Emphasis added—H.W.)

Thus Moynihan inadvertently exposes the very essence of the role imperialism assigns to right social democracy, whether in its classical form in the capitalist countries of Europe and North America, or in bourgeois nationalist variants in the "third world."

At this writing the unprecedented dimensions of the onslaught of right social democracy from Western Europe and the United States converge with U.S. and West European imperialist strategy in Portugal. The activities of this combined operation, reinforced with every imaginable variety of ideological, economic and political subversion through the CIA and other agencies, is only too reminiscent of the conspiracy that brought tragedy to Chile. The aim of these conspirators is to destabilize the unity of the Portuguese revolutionary forces, to reverse the struggles of those determined that the past is "by no means judged to be over and done with."

Unlike the right social democrats, the Communists and all progressive forces in Portugal, in and out of the army, have "judged" that the past will *not* be "over and done with" until all the old "scores" are "settled": that is, when foreign and domestic monopoly capital, the source of fascism, poverty and exploitation, have been eliminated.

The events in Angola and Mozambique most clearly show the meaning of the Moynihan doctrine for the "third world." When the underdeveloped countries act to end neo-colonial looting of their lands and labor, it is the victims of the looting, not the looters, who are to be charged with "tyranny" in the United Nations.

It is evident that accusations of the "tyranny" of the "new majority" are among U.S. imperialism's latest methods for "containing" those who refuse to accept the dictates of the Moynihan doctrine. This doctrine expresses in the sharpest way the U.S. aim to reestablish a pre-independence situation in new forms—the tyranny of the imperialist minority, with a lineup of neo-colonialist powers headed by the United States.

The Veil is Lifted

As has been pointed out, Moynihan's presentation in the pro-Zionist *Commentary* of U.S. imperialism's "third world" policies is veiled in certain ambiguities, the meaning made more difficult to follow by the use of such terms as "British socialism" and the "revolution of the Second International." In a followup article in *The Atlantic Monthly* (July 1975), the veil is lifted. Moynihan informs his readers that the United States will resort to every form of interventionist pressure, political, economic and other, against those nations trying to move away from old policies, that is, policies that were set by forces willing to let "bygones be bygones" after formal independence was won.

In *The Atlantic Monthly* Moynihan writes:

I believe the legacy of those brave beginnings persists, and that it is still the best hope we have that the world at large will not enter that dark totalitarian night we in the older democracies so very much, feared at the time the new nations made their appearance. (D. Moynihan, "How Much Does Freedom Matter," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1975)

The "legacy" that U.S. imperialism is doing all in its power to perpetuate is one that includes Lumumba's assassination, the Sharpville massacre, the overthrow of Nkrumah, and more recently, Cabral's assassination, and the murder of Allende and democracy in Chile. A current addition to this "legacy" is the mounting from Zaire, Lumumba's homeland, of armed intervention supported by Washington and Peking against Angola's independence.

By carrying on this "legacy," imperialism aims to maintain the "revolution of the Second International"—a "revolution" spearheaded by such as Mario Soares in Portugal and Holden Roberto in Angola.

A Holden Roberto, for instance, proves his willingness to let "bygones be bygones" by accepting the continued domination of the transnational corporations, while a Mario Soares accepts monopoly domination under slogans especially adapted for the European mainland.

The Moynihan doctrine attempts to hold back the future which belongs to those for whom the neo-colonial past is "by no means" over and done with when formal independence has been attained.

In contrast to 15 to 20 years ago, these forces in the "third world" countries are no longer "on the edges" of the movements to gain the substance of liberation. At the same time, "third world" struggles are

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spiraling to ever higher levels internationally, first of all because of the solidarity of the advancing world socialist system. The day is past when imperialism can consign liberation struggles to the "edges" of world politics!

Today, with ever greater clarity, the "third world" peoples view their struggles as part of the world anti-imperialist process—a process whose dynamics have been transformed by the Soviet Union and the community of socialist nations (one of them flourishing only 90 miles from the center of world racism and imperialism!). It is the pivotal contradiction between the advancing socialist system and declining capitalism (and the people's perception of this contradiction) that accelerates the liberation struggles, merging them at new levels with the international class struggle.

It is in the context of this new phase of the world revolutionary process and the prospects it opens for countries fighting to break out of 500 years of colonial and neo-colonial oppression that the significance of the Moynihan doctrine must be estimated, domestically and internationally.

Moynihan and "Radical Discontinuity"

Moynihan's views on India are especially significant at this time when the United States is supporting the rightist offensive in India as well as Portugal, in parallel operations that reveal the relationship between imperialism's intensified efforts to expand its penetration of the "third world" and its anti-Communist, anti-Soviet strategy.

In his *Commentary* article Moynihan quotes remarks made about the capitalist powers at the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974 by the Indian Food Minister. The Indian Minister said:

"It is obvious that the developed nations can be held responsible for their [the developing nations] present plight. Developed nations, therefore, have a duty to help them. Whatever help is rendered to them now should not be regarded as charity but deferred compensation for what has been done to them in the past by the developed countries."

Expressing his extreme concern about their comments, Moynihan states:

The U.N. General Assembly pursued this theme with notable persistence . . . the General Assembly solemnly adopted a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States which accords to each state the right to freely exercise full permanent sovereignty over its wealth

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and natural resources, to regulate and exercise authority over foreign investments, and to nationalize, expropriate, or transfer ownership of foreign property pretty much at will.

One hundred and twenty nations voted for this Charter, with six against—the United States, Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. "Explaining" why the United States voted against this Charter of Economic Rights for the majority of the world's population, Moynihan says:

What was being asserted was a radical *discontinuity* with the original, essentially liberal vision of the United Nations. . . . (Emphasis added—H.W.)

Again the word "discontinuity" crops up! Previously noted was its use by Alan Greenspan, chairman of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers, and a disciple of neo-fascist Ayn Rand. Greenspan expressed the views of those in the ruling class who feel bourgeois democracy has become an obstacle domestically and are pushing for its "discontinuity," i.e., an ultra-rightist or even fascist solution to the general crisis of capitalism. It is no accident that Moynihan extends this concept internationally, pressing for a *discontinuity* of democratic and social progress in the "third world" and elsewhere.

The Moynihan doctrine reveals imperialism's desperate fantasies for making the final quarter of the 20th century a kind of modernized version of the final quarter of the 19th century. At that time U.S. capitalism had betrayed the democratic advances of post-Civil War Reconstruction and was expanding capitalist development across the continent as the basis for the corporate domination that was to follow. In this same period the European powers completed the first colonial redivision of the greater part of the globe, while the U.S. fulfilled its "manifest destiny" with a war to win its "share" of empire in Cuba and the Philippines.

But the last quarter of this century is many light years away from the last quarter of the previous one! In this coming 25 years there will be ever greater acceleration of the process of the general crisis and decline of capitalism and the final stages in the struggle for the world transition to liberation and socialism.

Of this perspective for liberation and socialism, Moynihan says:

The great darkness could yet consume us. The potential for absorption of these ["third world"] states into the totalitarian camp is there and will continue to be there. This is perhaps especially true where one-party states have been established, but even where multi-party democracy flourishes the tug of the "socialist countries," to use the U.N. term, persists.

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Moynihan's use of "totalitarian camp" as a synonym for "socialist camp" is, of course, merely another of imperialism's vain efforts to prevent "third world" countries from recognizing that escape from the "great darkness" of neo-colonialism, from "absorption" into new forms of subjugation, is realizable because of the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Moynihan goes on to say:

The outcome [for "third world" countries] will almost certainly turn on whether or not these nations, individually and in groups, succeed in establishing sufficiently productive economies.

To achieve "sufficiently productive economies," Moynihan warns these countries that they must avoid "internal political influence from the totalitarian camp." Speaking of India, he states:

... economic incompetence on its part and diplomatic blunders on ours have led to increasing dependence on Soviet support which in the space of three years has brought about an open electoral alliance between the Congress party and the Moscow-oriented Communists, an alliance we would have thought worth fighting a war to prevent decades ago, but which we scarcely notice today.

Moynihan is forced to acknowledge that the *National Herald*, which he describes as "the Nehru family newspaper," had the following to say about his views:

Mr. Moynihan may be justified in some of his criticism of the state of the Indian economy, but what he is trying to sell is the capitalist system which can only impoverish India's millions further.

Certainly one can heartily agree with the *National Herald's* description of what Moynihan is "trying to sell." As the *Herald* implies, Moynihan makes his hypocritical "criticism" of India's economy, arrogantly attributing it to "incompetence," only to perpetuate the Indian monopolists and landlords linked to imperialism who block formation of a "sufficiently productive economy."

As for Moynihan's assertion that "we scarcely notice today" what "we would have thought worth fighting a war to prevent two decades ago," there's been no decline in the imperialists' affinity for war nor oversights in their efforts to "prevent" liberation and social progress. However, the Vietnam lesson has encouraged them to conduct wars with an increasingly varied arsenal of weapons, as in Chile and Portugal, and in India—where Moynihan has helped the United States mount a massive campaign against Indira Gandhi's government as it tries to move decisively in the interests of the masses.

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Moynihan becomes more specific as to what he has in mind for India's economy when he states:

... international liberalism and its process have enormous recent achievements to their credit. It is time for the United States to start saying so.

One example is the multinational corporation which, combining modern management with liberal trade policies, is arguably the most creative international institution of the 20th century.

Apparently Moynihan thinks that by sprinkling his article with indulgent references to "British socialism" and the "revolution of the Second International," he can get away with lauding "multinational corporations," when the very phrase has become synonymous with neo-colonialism! It is ironic that he equates "productive economies" with capitalism at a time when even the most obviously conservative ideologues of U.S. monopoly have long since retired the phrase "people's capitalism."

What kind of "productive" and "creative" prospect is Moynihan holding out for the "third world" nations when he tells them to tie their future to capitalism? How "productive" is a system that in the United States, even in its ascendant stage, could develop its productive capacity only by reinforcing wage labor with chattel slavery?

And how "creative" is this system in its present stage of decline? What do its multinational corporations "create" except ever greater inequality and poverty for the majority of the earth's population?

How productive for "third world" countries is a system whose multinational corporations have never operated at anywhere near productive capacity except in war time? What "creative" solution does U.S. imperialism offer the "third world" when at home its economy is geared to the non-productive pile-up of armaments and profits for monopoly, and oppression, unemployment and inflation for the people?

"Impact of Multinational Corporations"

Moynihan's assignment as the multinational corporations' chief U.N. spokesman is an extension of earlier steps taken by the United States against the U.N. majority's efforts to deal with neo-colonialist intervention in the underdeveloped countries.

For instance, in 1974 the United Nations issued a report on the multinational corporations' role in the "third world." Titled "The Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations," the report stated:

Most countries are concerned about the ownership and control of key economic sectors by foreign enterprises, the excessive cost to the domestic economy which their operations may entail, the extent to which they may encroach upon political sovereignty and their possible adverse influence on socio-cultural values.

The report also stated that the operations of the multinational corporations conflicted with the political and social choices of countries that "may opt for different . . . models of development *which leave little or no room for the participation of multinational corporations as they are currently organized.*" (Emphasis added—H.W.)

A lengthy challenge to the report was made by Senator Jacob K. Javits, representing the United States in the group preparing the document. Javits, expressing the interchangeable relationship between the U.S. government and the transnational corporations, rejected the report because of what he called its "bias in favor of governmental as opposed to private decision making," and because it "assumes that the central problem is a conflict between the economic power of the multinational corporations and the political power of the host governments. . . ."

After disputing the "implicit [assumption] of the report" that "government involvement is preferable to private initiative," he expressed fear that "greater political control" by developing nations would lead to:

. . . a suffocating surveillance of multinational corporation activities by the host country government and discrimination against the multinational corporations compared with indigenous private enterprise.

Thus Javits reveals that a central aim of U.S. imperialism is to intensify its control of "third world" countries. His challenge to the U.N. report also further exposes the underlying reasons for Moynihan's onslaught against the "tyranny" of the "new majority" and portrayal of the multinational corporations as the "creative alternative to totalitarianism."

Javits also attacks the report because (in his view):

. . . [it] rather vaguely charges, without substantiation, that multinational corporations, being close to domestic groups favoring foreign investment, can "rally against groups advocating social reforms."

A more open expression of U.S. imperialism's interventionist doctrine, of its frenzied efforts to "rally against groups advocating social reforms," from Chile to Angola to Portugal, would be hard to come by!

The Maoists, Moynihan-Kissinger and the "Third World"

Evidence of the contradiction between the Maoists' "revolutionary" rhetoric and the reality of their support to imperialism and its multinational corporations continues to multiply. In fact, one need only look beyond the rhetoric to find that Maoist "third world" policies cannot be distinguished from those of Moynihan and Javits.

Take just one example: On July 28, 1975, the Chinese Mission to the United Nations issued a press release attacking the Soviet message to the 12th Session of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity in Uganda. The Maoists lashed out at the Soviet statement for:

. . . saying that "the sovereignty of developing countries over their natural resources . . . depends on the capacity of their industries for utilizing these resources."

(Before continuing with the release, it should be noted that the "quotation" in it does not appear in the Soviet document to which the Maoists attribute it. Despite this, the concept in the "quote," as we shall see, by no means runs counter to Soviet internationalist policy.)

The Maoist release then asserts:

If African countries with backward industries accept this fallacy of the Soviet revisionists, they will have no sovereign rights over their natural resources but place themselves at the mercy of superpower wanton plunder.

The release adds:

But it is this superpower which has opposed the reasonable demand of developing countries, including those in Africa, for higher raw material prices. . . .

By analyzing these statements one can see how the Maoists' "two superpowers" concept assists imperialism. In order to isolate the "third world" from its socialist allies, the Maoists aim their fire not at imperialism but at the socialist camp. Through these efforts at splitting the world anti-imperialist struggle they weaken "third world" bargaining power with the multinational corporations in setting prices and terms of trade.

The question of setting prices on the sale of raw materials (as well as determining what is to be imported and at what price) is indeed a decisive starting point for the former colonies in their relations with the multinational corporations.

Although the Maoists ostensibly call for higher prices for these countries, their position actually assists the imperialists, who scream that prices are too high. Maoist policy has this effect because it separates prices from the conditions necessary for "third world" countries to end neo-colonial dictation of terms.

By contrast, the policy of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp and the world's Communist and Workers Parties strengthens the fight for higher raw material prices by recognizing that "the sovereignty of developing nations over their natural resources" does indeed depend on "the capacity of their industries for utilizing these resources."

The Maoist fallacies, denying this, assist only the neo-colonialists, who would like to reestablish "sovereign rights" over the "third world's" resources and peoples. The Maoist concepts aid the imperialists in their efforts to block industrial and technological development in the former colonies in order to keep them dependent on the mammoth corporate consumers of raw materials. Only by a many-sided development of industry and agriculture can these countries escape from the "creative" coercion demanded by Moynihan and Javits.

The Maoists' anti-Soviet slander cannot conceal the socialist camp's role in fundamentally accelerating the African, Asian and Latin American struggles against the unequal terms imperialism imposes. One could say that the Marxist-Leninist policies of the Soviet Union and the socialist community in relation to the "third world" are an extension of the principles first applied by Karl Marx in the workers' struggle with capitalists over the terms of sale, that is, for the price of their labor power. This is what Marx saw as the starting point in the class struggle to end wage slavery.

At the same time, he emphasized that working-class liberation

could not be won if the struggle was limited to the terms of sale of labor power. At best, this economic struggle could only blunt the downward spiral of conditions under capitalism.

Applied to the "third world," this means that the struggle for terms of sale can be meaningful only if there is world unity behind policies guaranteeing that underdeveloped countries will move as rapidly as possible toward processing their own materials. Only by having more to sell than raw materials can these nations begin to escape the downward pressure from imperialism. The development of industry and agriculture is a prerequisite for their gaining the substance of independence.

However, it is wrong to conclude that economic development *in itself* will lead to socialism, or even that it could overcome the growing inequality between the "third world" countries, most of whom are still within the capitalist orbit, and the developed imperialist centers in the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

But one would never know this from Maoism, which obliterates the class essence of the national liberation struggles in both its internal and international aspects. In this era of world transition to socialism, anti-imperialist unity of the newly independent countries with the socialist camp is an historic necessity. At the same time, "third world" policies must strengthen the internal struggle for socialism economically, socially and politically.

In most of the "third world" countries, especially those south of the Sahara and north of the apartheid South African regime, capitalism is not an internal dominant characteristic. It is there mainly as a foreign presence, as international capital. What dominates is pre-capitalist formations, which are subject to exploitation by international capital and internal forces linked to neo-colonialism.

Even the U.N. report on "The Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations" recognizes what Maoism denies: the possibility for "third world" countries to make "political and social choices" for "models of development" along non-capitalist paths.

In its opposition to the struggle for such "political and social choices," Maoism reinforces imperialism's economic, political and military opposition to the "third world" peoples' sovereign right to exercise "political and social choices" that could help them break out of capitalism's orbit and accelerate the emergence of working-class and mass power, instead of enhancing the positions of internal exploiters and international monopolists.

But along with imperialism, Maoism aims at turning the exploiters in the cities and villages into a new bourgeoisie, national betrayers who

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would subordinate "third world" sovereignty to imperialism's global anti-Soviet strategy.

Therefore, the question of the underdeveloped countries' sovereignty is inseparable from the struggle for peaceful coexistence: the right to choose their own path without intervention from U.S. and world imperialism.

Maoist "Neutrality" in the Class Struggle

In the "third world" countries the class struggle revolves around the question of capitalist or non-capitalist orientation; specifically, whether the state or the private sector will be the basis for economic development. In this struggle the Maoists line up on the side of internal reaction and the multinational corporations, hiding their betrayal of liberation and socialism behind a mask of "neutrality" on this pivotal issue.

This counterrevolutionary "neutrality" is revealed in an article in *Peking Review*, (No. 2: January 10, 1975) that attempts to distort decisions made by the U.N. General Assembly in April 1974 to help the newly independent countries overcome imperialist domination. But according to the Maoist article, these decisions "firmly upheld the following principle":

The right of every country to exercise effective control over its natural resources, including nationalization and transfer of ownership to its nationals.

According to Marxism-Leninism, the principle that must be "firmly upheld" is public, not private, ownership of property. Yet the Maoists would have us believe there is no choice between nationalization and "transfer of ownership to . . . nationals," i.e., those forces with ties to world imperialism.

But how does one strengthen an underdeveloped country's ability to "exercise effective control over its natural resources," and its total economic development—by remaining "neutral" on the *central* question in the fight for sovereignty and social progress? Ironically, this Maoist "neutrality" is in reality an invitation to multinational corporations to continue dominating "third world" economies—a modernized version of the old "Open Door" policy!

To cover their accommodation to neo-colonialist strategy on the crucial issue of the "third world" countries' economic and social orientation, the Maoists assert:

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The African people's anti-imperialist struggle has reached a new level with the spearhead of their struggle for economic independence directed more and more against the superpowers' policy of plunder and hegemonism.

It is certainly true that the struggles of the peoples of Africa are reaching a new level, despite the Maoists' disruptive role: Maoist rhetoric cannot conceal Maoist support to the "hegemonism" of U.S. imperialism's multinational corporations.

The logic of the Maoists' "neutrality" on nationalization versus "transfer of ownership to . . . nationals" is seen in their support to U.S. imperialism's fascist puppets in Chile. The Chilean junta, in accord with the Maoist formula, has completed "transfer of ownership to . . . nationals." The industries and resources nationalized by Allende's Popular Unity government are now returned to the hands of the Chilean monopolists and landowners tied to U.S. imperialism, or are again directly under control of multinational corporations.

Appreciation of Maoist assistance to U.S. imperialism was expressed in the *New York Daily News* by its editor, Michael O'Neal. After a visit to China, he wrote:

China has moved in the last few years to ally itself with the United States in a surprising new balance of power. It has even made a wrenching adjustment in its ideology to further its pragmatic national interests. (*Daily News*, July 18, 1975. Emphasis added—H.W.)

The "wrenching adjustment" the *Daily News* welcomes is merely the Maoists' substitution of great-power chauvinist aims for Marxist-Leninist principles. This "wrenching adjustment" not only works against the interests of the "third world" peoples; it simultaneously jeopardizes China's *real* "national interests," previous socialist gains made inside the country, with vast material assistance from the Soviet Union.

Maoism's course has indeed led China to "ally itself with the United States," including the Kissinger-Moynihan strategy against the "tyranny" of the U.N.'s "new majority."

Especially is this "alliance" directed against the democratic forces from Angola to Portugal who do not remain "neutral," but advocate the state sector as the starting point for preventing domination in new forms by the multinational corporations and as the foundation for economic and social progress.

Whether or not the state sector in "third world" countries promotes the non-capitalist path, this form of ownership offers the best opportu-

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nity for overcoming neo-colonialism and defending national sovereignty. This in turn creates the conditions for advancing democracy, and for new levels of struggle toward a non-capitalist path and socialist development.

Diversity, Unity and the OAU

After attacking the Soviet Union's advocacy of industrial development to enable "third world" countries to control their own resources, the July 28, 1975, release from the Chinese Mission goes on to assert:

The "document" also shows that the Soviet revisionists are sowing discord and breaking up African unity. Everybody knows that the first aim in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity is to promote *integration* and solidarity among African countries. The OAU has been making every endeavor to safeguard and strengthen solidarity and integration which is the source of strength in Africa. After inciting the Angolan people to fight among themselves, the Soviet revisionists with ulterior motives classify the OAU into "progressive member states" and "non-progressive member states" in the "document." (Emphasis added—H.W.)

Again the "document" referred to is the Soviet message to the OAU, and again, no such remarks are to be found in it.

Nevertheless, it is certainly true that there is considerable variation in the orientation of the states comprising the OAU. And the Maoist attempts to obscure the combination of diversity and unity within the OAU have a very specific purpose: Behind their usual "revolutionary" rhetoric, the Maoists parallel imperialism's (especially U.S. imperialism's) maneuvers to introduce on the African continent a facsimile of the now bankrupt strategy imposed for so many years on the Organization of American States (OAS).

In its policy toward the OAS, the United States rejected diversity of membership in order to keep out Cuba. This was the springboard for the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba and for U.S. intervention in Cuba, Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Chile, etc., in the name of opposition to "communism" and "Soviet penetration."

It is this same imperialist approach that Maoism supports in denying the right to diversity in the OAU. But to oppose this right is to reject the necessity for a *united front* against imperialism on the African continent!

Along with imperialism, Maoism is intensifying ideological, political and economic warfare against the *key* element in the OAU's

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principle of unity based on diversity: some, not all, African states have revolutionary, anti-capitalist orientations; the unity of these diverse states is what Moynihan attacks as the "tyranny" of the "new majority."

As for the Maoist claim that the Soviet Union is "inciting the Angolan people to fight among themselves," the facts prove the reverse. U.S. imperialism and the Maoists, together with Lumumba's assassins, are carrying on a military attempt to repeat what was done in the Congo during Lumumba's time.

The U.S.-Zaire-Maoist intervention, supported by apartheid South Africa, against the unity of the Angola liberation movement aims to replace Portuguese colonialism with even more powerful forms of colonialist penetration. Thus, under the guise of opposing "communism" and "Soviet influence," Maoism has joined with the imperialists in military attacks against the right to diversity (the choice of political and social orientation) for African states.

U.S.-Maoist complicity in Angola is confirmed in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1975), issued by the Council on Foreign Relations, a think tank for U.S. imperialism. The article, "Report from Angola," states:

Recently, MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] President Neto said, "After we are freed from Portuguese colonialism, we must be liberated from that of our neighbors and brothers." He was referring primarily to President Mobutu, who is the most heavily involved and strongest *outside* influence on Angola today. (Emphasis added—H.W.)

But the "Report" soon contradicts itself, revealing that the "most heavily involved and strongest outside influence in Angola" is the United States:

The United States first became involved in the liberation movement in the early sixties by supporting Holden Roberto on a covert basis. . . . The main U.S. interests in Angola are political—to encourage a friendly government in a large and potentially powerful African country—and economic—to preserve American business interests. Particularly important are the interests of Gulf Oil, the fourth-largest oil company in the United States, which has exclusive rights over Cabindan oil. In terms of trade, the United States is the principal importer of Angolan goods, even ahead of Portugal, and the third-largest exporter to Angola.

The "Report" then comments on the Maoists as partners of the United States in support of Holden Roberto, son-in-law of Mobutu:

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It seems that by backing Roberto, the most Western-leaning of the leaders, the Chinese decided to sacrifice some ideological purity for political payoffs. . . .

This "sacrifice" of "ideological purity," this betrayal of Marxist-Leninist principles, is but the latest in the long Maoist record of "sacrifice," not only of the interests of African and other "third world" peoples, but of the peoples of China as well.

The armed intervention in Angola, of which the Maoists are a component, also threatens Mozambique's and Guinea Bissau's newly won independence. It parallels on the African continent the drive against the revolutionary process in Portugal.

Integration, Solidarity and Maoism

The Maoists, accusing the U.S.S.R. of "sowing discord and breaking up African unity," assert that the "first aim" of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is "to promote *integration* and *solidarity* among African states." (Emphasis added—H.W.)

When the Maoists speak of "integration," it is not to adapt this concept to the present stage in the African nations' struggle for sovereignty and socio-economic progress. Maoist rhetoric about "integration" and "solidarity" is designed to undermine OAU anti-imperialist unity, the historic prerequisite for further advances in cooperation among the member states.

The Maoists equate "integration" and "solidarity," but there is a fundamental distinction between the two concepts. The Soviet Union and all the world Communist and progressive forces are united in solidarity with the African liberation struggles.

But how is it possible to "integrate" states with different socio-economic orientations? Clearly, the Maoist idea of "integration" fits into imperialism's strategy of denying the right of self-determination, of genuine national development, to OAU members, and of "integrating" these countries into new forms of colonialism. By substituting "integration" for *joint action*, Maoism is calling upon the African states to bypass anti-imperialist solidarity for a "great leap" into neo-colonialism and self-defeat.

Integration among non-socialist nations can mean only the subjugation of the weaker states by the stronger. The right of self-determination is the basis for diversity within unity in the OAS. The contradiction between Maoism and this principle can be seen in the U.S.-Maoist effort to duplicate in Africa what the United States did in Latin America through the OAS. U.S. imperialism and the Maoists are

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trying to undermine anti-imperialist solidarity in the OAU by denying member states the right to choose their own social system. The U.S.-Maoist intervention in Angola, for example, is an attempt to forestall even the possibility of Angola or other African countries choosing a non-capitalist path.

The weaponry to support this Zaire-based intervention is flown in from U.S. stocks in the Federal Republic of Germany, U.S. imperialism's most powerful ally in NATO and the European Economic Community. In this light the Maoists' support to the EEC, the Common Market, takes on added significance. It reveals the dimensions of their involvement with imperialism's strategy against the three currents of the world revolutionary process: the African, Asian and Latin American liberation movements; the working classes and oppressed minorities in the capitalist countries; and the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

There is a direct connection between the Maoists' support of NATO and involvement in the Common Market, and the Maoists' attempt to "integrate" the OAU member states. This is a connection that exposes Maoism's special link with those U.S. and West German monopolists most opposed to detente and peaceful coexistence.

Maoism's Other Face

The Maoists' adjustment to events often results in rapid changes in the form of their betrayal of class and national liberation. Until the recent events in Chile, Portugal and Angola, Maoism usually appeared as the "left" face of right social democracy. But in Africa and Portugal, as well as in its support to the Chilean junta, Maoism now appears openly on the right. It is in fact even more closely linked than right social democracy with the most aggressive mobilization of fascist violence against the Portuguese revolutionary process.

And in its *triangular entente* with U.S. and West German imperialism, Maoism appears more and more brazenly to the right of right social democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany. Not only did the Maoists attack the Helsinki Conference on European Security, the greatest single step toward defeating those who would reverse the process of detente and would escalate instead of end the armaments race; but in addition, Mao Tse-tung placed his personal imprimatur on Franz Josef Strauss and all the conservative and fascist forces opposed to the Helsinki agreement, of which the F.R.G.'s right social democratic government was a signer.

Both Strauss and Mao Tse-tung aim at intensifying the anti-democratic, anti-Soviet direction of NATO and the EEC. At the same

time, they want to use the EEC to weaken the other Western European states as rivals to Bonn and Washington, while these states continue to further imperialist goals in Europe and the "third world."

The United States is anxious to avoid appearing in its true role as senior and directing partner in the triangular relationship with the Maoists and the most reactionary F.R.G. monopolists. And Maoist propaganda provides this cover for U.S. imperialism, helping it to appear as either an innocent bystander or superpower "opponent" of the Maoists.

Much Maoist propaganda is now directed to moving the EEC and NATO into positions that correspond more effectively to the most aggressive sectors of U.S. and F.R.G. monopoly. This represents not only a direct threat to the socialist camp and the "third world," but to the independence of Western European countries. The concept on which this propaganda is based was expressed by Teng Hsiao-ping, who spoke for the Maoist regime at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations, April 1974. He said that the contemporary world

... actually consists of the three sides, the three worlds, which are mutually tied in and mutually contradictory. The USA and the USSR constitute the first world. The developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions comprise the third world. The developed countries that are between the above-mentioned worlds constitute the second world.

In its "theory" of a "first," "second" and "third" world, Maoism has added yet another dimension to its betrayal of the international working classes and the national liberation struggles.

The Maoists' linking of the Soviet Union and the United States in a "first world" is a significant example of their "wrenching adjustment" away from Marxist-Leninist principles. (Every U.N. member knows these two states are in the forefront of opposite international alignments!)

Shortly before the October Revolution, Lenin wrote:

The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 392)

He then said:

Any direct or indirect, witting or unwitting evasion of these questions inevitably turns into a defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of capital, the interests of the exploiters. (*Ibid.*, p. 393)

Maoism's portrayal of the strongest single socialist state and the strongest single capitalist state as members of the same camp is a "direct" and "witting . . . evasion" of "the content of the new era of world history," i.e., the pivotal contradiction between advancing socialism and declining capitalism in the era of world transition to socialism. Maoism "inevitably turns into a defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie, the interests of capital, the interests of the exploiters."

Although the Maoists use the phrase "third world" as if it were a scientific characterization, it is actually a shorthand reference for countries that, despite diverse backgrounds and social orientations, have been the victims of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

As for the Maoists' "second world," allegedly composed of all the developed capitalist countries except the United States, this represents another "witting . . . evasion" of international divisions. In reality this "second world" is the neo-colonialist camp headed by the United States and comprised of all the EEC and NATO states, plus Israel on Africa's northern flank, apartheid South Africa, Japan and Brazil, the imperialist aspirant on the South American continent. These are the "allies" Maoism offers the "third world"!

This Maoist "theory" of the era in which we live contradicts the scientific analysis and guide to struggle expressed by Lenin:

We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc. . . . only a knowledge of the basic features of a given epoch can serve as the foundation for an understanding of the specific features of one country or another. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145. Emphasis in the original.)

The Maoist concept of a "first," "second" and "third" world is designed to separate the newly independent countries from the class standing at the "hub" of the world revolutionary process: the contingents of the international working class in power in the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

In linking the United States with the Soviet Union, Maoism aims in particular at deceiving the "third world" peoples. According to its "first world" "theory," the United States is unconnected with the social, economic and military aggression involving the EEC and NATO countries, Japan, Israel, South Africa and Brazil against the "third world."

It is difficult to imagine anything more fraudulent than this "theory," when the United States is the dominant force, the decision-

making center, in the "second world" that Maoism portrays as the ally of the peoples struggling to emerge from neo-colonialism. By separating the United States from the so-called second world, Maoism assists the imperialists (particularly the most reactionary U.S. and F.R.G. sectors) who assign the EEC a special role in "solving" the intensified general crisis of capitalism through neo-colonialist expansion.

Pattern of U.S. Investments Abroad

U.S. imperialism's economic, political and military weight within the so-called second world enables the United States to shape the decisions which maintain the plunder of the "third world."

For example, in 1972 U.S. corporations invested almost three and a half billion dollars abroad, and repatriated almost ten and a half billion in profits. U.S. multinational corporations are now investing \$25 abroad for every \$100 invested at home. Significantly, 80 percent of these foreign investments are in the developed capitalist countries, predominantly the EEC countries of the fictional "second world" from which the Maoists exclude the United States!

This investment pattern is further proof that U.S. and world imperialism continues to accelerate economic, political, technological and military development in the advanced capitalist countries while giving only peripheral consideration to and perpetuating underdevelopment in the "third world."

This pattern of investments in the Common Market by U.S. multinational corporations reveals the nature of inter-imperialist rivalries and the uneven development of capitalism, accentuated by the scientific and technological revolution and the general crisis of capitalism. These factors account for U.S. imperialism's efforts to dominate not only the underdeveloped countries still within the capitalist orbit, but also to intensify its domination of the developed capitalist sectors.

The triangular entente between Peking, Washington and Bonn not only threatens the "third world" and the working classes in the capitalist countries, but also sharpens the contradictions within NATO—whose interests are increasingly subordinated to the United States via its special relations with the F.R.G., the most powerful EEC member, and its support from Maoism. This is how the United States, though not a Common Market member, can largely determine West European policies.

However, class adhesion between the United States and all EEC members overshadows rivalries in protecting their common interests against the working classes, the liberation movements and the socialist

camp. And it is in this connection that Maoism is particularly valuable to imperialism.

Maoism, as a partner in the triangular entente, aims to weaken anti-imperialist unity through its support to imperialism's military arm, NATO, and its economic weapon, the EEC.

The Maoists joined, for instance, with the British Conservative Party and the right wing of the Labor Party against the Labor Party's left wing and all progressive forces in a massive campaign to bring England into the EEC. A typical example of the Maoists' rationale for supporting EEC appears in the July 1975 *Broadsheet*, issued by the China Policy Study Group, Maoist supporters in England. *Broadsheet* stated, "The E.E.C. is positive politically, as a measure in favour of self-reliance and to avoid dependence on one or both superpowers."

Here the Maoists apply to an openly imperialist organization the same "self-reliance" rhetoric they have used for more than a decade to undermine anti-imperialist unity by attempting to separate the national liberation struggles from the socialist camp.

In what way does the EEC represent a "measure in favour of self-reliance?" For the working classes and masses to identify their interests with the EEC is to "rely" on the organization through which Washington and Bonn mobilize capitalism's economic and military resources against the world revolutionary process. "Reliance" on EEC means subservience to the multinational corporations dominating the lives of the masses in both the developed and underdeveloped capitalist countries. True self-reliance for the anti-imperialist forces means the united struggles of the working classes and the national liberation movements with the socialist camp.

Continuing, *Broadsheet* states:

In future, it will be necessary to oppose U.S. hegemony over the E.E.C., while avoiding a one-sided anti-U.S. line which could benefit the other superpower.

It is now impossible for any second-world country to continue in the old way. . . . On a European level, a step can be taken in the direction of a more balanced economic structure. This does not solve the long-term problem, but in any case we do not pin our hopes on capitalism as a lasting solution. . . .

Here the Maoists outdo even the most aggressively class collaborationist policies of right social democracy! They betray the present struggle against U.S. and world imperialism with a promise to "oppose U.S. hegemony over the E.E.C." some time in the future, justifying this betrayal in the name of "avoiding a one-sided anti-U.S. line which could

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benefit the other superpower." Thus, Maoism's anti-Soviet, great-power chauvinism has become open "one-sided" support to the hegemony of U.S. imperialism both in Europe and the "third world."

The EEC, NATO and other U.S.-dominated agencies of imperialism assign the task of continued penetration of the "third world" to the multinational corporations. The Maoists want us to believe they will join the struggle against the multinational corporations sometime "in future" since they claim that "we do not pin our hopes on capitalism as a lasting solution." For the present, however, their policies inform us that they "do not pin" their hopes on the anti-imperialist struggle, but on the Kissinger-Moynihan strategy designed to consolidate imperialism's economic and military domination over "third world" countries.

"Get Tough and Do Things"

Also among those whose "hopes" are "pinned" on more sophisticated forms of economic penetration of the underdeveloped countries is ITT. For example, the October 1974 *Foreign Affairs* reveals:

Faced with the prospect of Chilean copper nationalization in the late 1960s, Anaconda relied on the local political defense of forming an alliance with the conservative elite in the host country—to no avail. Kennecott, on the other hand, worked out a sophisticated external defense based on transnational market and credit networks, so that when nationalization occurred the Chilean government would jeopardize its standing with credit institutions on several continents if it failed to provide adequate compensation. In situations of rising nationalism, the latter strategy may be the safer for a corporation. In retrospect, Harold Geneen, president of ITT, has argued that: "The answer may be a multinational approach. By this I mean the Germans, the Swiss, the World Bank, and others share in the investment. Then six countries are involved, not one. If something goes wrong, the countries can get tough and do things." (Joseph S. Nye, "Multinational Corporations and World Politics," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1974. Emphasis added—H.W.)

Far from having "changed," as the Maoists would have us believe, U.S. imperialism is simply attempting to adjust its operations: In the "face of rising nationalism," it wants to avoid acting alone against the underdeveloped countries, as it did in Vietnam and Chile. Via the "multinational approach," including the EEC, U.S. imperialism plans to make sure that if "something goes wrong," the other countries that "share in the investment" will also "get tough and do things."

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The "multinational approach" means action through such organizations as the EEC, on which Kissinger, Moynihan, ITT and Mao see eye-to-eye, backed by transnational governmental and institutional coalitions. In this way U.S. imperialism hopes to reinforce its domination over both the capitalist centers and "third world" countries still in the capitalist orbit.

As Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, points out:

The ominous nature of the web being spun by U.S. imperialism is now emerging into the full light of day. Kissinger spins the shuttle-weave, Moynihan baits the trap with sugary poison at the United Nations, while the godfather of all the corporate spiders [Rockefeller] directs the spinning from behind the seal of the Vice Presidency of the United States.

Hall continues:

The web is designed to trap both the underdeveloped countries and the people of the United States.

What is the basic essence of the U.S. proposals? They are all without exception geared to using U.S. taxpayers' dollars to help the U.S. corporations expand their exploitation and domination of the underdeveloped countries. (*Daily World*, Sept. 5, 1975)

At the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations, Kissinger proposed several courses of action, all of which, as *Foreign Affairs* makes clear, originated in U.S. imperialism's most reactionary circles. Each of Kissinger's proposals is part of the U.S. effort to strengthen the EEC and NATO, while perfecting even more sophisticated transnational agencies.

Kissinger asserted:

... The United States will support a major expansion of the World Bank's International Finance Corporation—the investment banker with the broadest experience in supporting private enterprise in developing countries. (Nye, op. cit. Emphasis added—H.W.)

Kissinger then notified the United Nations that the underdeveloped countries' "access" to monopoly's technology and capital would depend on their submission to "one of the most effective engines of development—the transnational enterprise." He said:

Transnational enterprises have been powerful instruments of modernization both in the industrial nations—where they conduct most of their operations—and in the developing countries, where there is

often no substitute for their ability to marshal capital, management, skills, technology and initiative. (Ibid.)

Kissinger, with his blatant assertion that the "management, skills . . . and initiative" are to remain under transnational control, revealed that his "new" proposals are simply updated versions of imperialism's old "engines" of domination. He made it clear that underdeveloped "host" countries have no rights that the transnational corporations are bound to respect, including the right of self-determination guaranteed by the U.N. charter.

Attempting to outlaw opposition to U.S. plans, Kissinger declared that even "the controversy over" the transnational corporations' "role and conduct is itself an obstacle to development." "Development," according to the Kissinger-Moynihan proposals, would be "managed" as follows: U.S. and world imperialism would aim to create a national bourgeoisie in each country to assist the transnational corporations in suppressing "the controversy over their role and conduct" in plundering the "third world."

Puerto Rican Prototype of "Modernization"

As an example of what "powerful instruments of modernization" the "transnational enterprises" have been, one need look no further than Puerto Rico, which U.S. imperialism projects as the prototype for "development" of the entire "third world." "Managed" and "modernized" by U.S. imperialism, Puerto Rico remains a colony, its economy converted into a super-profit branch of the transnational corporations. For the Puerto Rican people this has meant unemployment and poverty on the scale of economic genocide. Not since the days when British colonialism in Ireland led to famine and the migration of millions has such a huge proportion of a people been forced to leave its own country in search of work.

The Puerto Ricans' crisis of existence, whether in Puerto Rico or in U.S. ghettos, is the outcome of decades of control by U.S. monopoly's "most effective engines of development."

On August 19, 1975, the Economic Development Administration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico placed a full-page ad in *The New York Times*, featuring Pierre A. Rinfret, president of Rinfret-Boston Associates, Inc., and "one of the nation's most influential business economists." Hailing Puerto Rico as his "standard for judging investment opportunities in the world," Rinfret rhapsodized:

There are things about Puerto Rico which delight me and reinforce my faith in the vibrancy and dynamism of the free enterprise system.

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The base, the key, the faith of Puerto Rico is that the private sector can do more to develop the Commonwealth than can government. You will have to admit that sets Puerto Rico apart from most, if not all, countries of the free world. The political leaders of Puerto Rico believe in free enterprise.

They have placed their faith and their future in the free enterprise system.

What does *not* delight Rinfret and other monopoly spokesmen about Puerto Rico is the mounting liberation struggles—vibrant testimony that the Puerto Rican people place "their faith and their future" in the fight to oust the "free enterprise system" of the transnational corporations and their national bourgeois enforcers.

That the Kissinger-Moynihan proposals for "modernization" and "development" mean profits for the neo-colonialists and misery for the people is confirmed when Rinfret, as a come-on to investors, states: "When the worldwide recession of 1974-75 hit, it hit Puerto Rico harder than most." As a result, as the ad puts it, "The people of Puerto Rico need work."

In addition to masses of unemployed, the transnational corporations are offered such other benefits of neo-colonialist "modernization" as "100% exemption from all local taxes," no federal taxes, and a rebate of "up to 25% of your labor costs for the first two years of operation."

"An Unfriendly Act"

When a resolution to discuss Puerto Rican self-determination was presented in the United Nations, only days before Kissinger's address to the Seventh Special Session, the representative from Maoist China did not participate in the voting. This non-participation followed a warning from the U.S. representative that his government would consider those voting for the resolution guilty of "an unfriendly act." Obviously, the Maoists who had voted with the United States in the U.N. Human Rights Commission against an investigation of the fascist atrocities in Chile would not join in an "unfriendly act" against U.S. imperialism!

Further, one should remember that in the months before the Kissinger-Moynihan proposals were presented to the United Nations, the Maoists tried to camouflage the nature of the transnational corporations' demands behind a barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda. At the same time, their "neutral" stand on nationalization versus private ownership was designed to undermine "third world" struggles for independence and a non-capitalist path.

However, the mounting fight against the transnational corporations reflected in the Lima Conference of Non-aligned Countries in August 1975 and in the U.N. special session the following month, has forced the Maoists to make tactical adjustments. Now they are placing a certain rhetorical emphasis on nationalization. But they are accompanying this with intensified efforts to disrupt anti-imperialist unity within the underdeveloped countries, i.e., stepped-up attempts to split these countries from their world allies.

This nullifies even the Maoist rhetoric about nationalization, since only anti-imperialist unity can guarantee that nationalization strengthens an underdeveloped country's sovereignty and economy, rather than solidifying the presence of capital linked to the transnational corporations. Thus, whatever their form, Maoist policies support Kissinger in his dictates against "controversy" over the "role and conduct" of the multinational corporations.

Detente, Militarization and Maoism

In the company of the most racist, aggressive sectors of imperialism from Johannesburg to Washington, from Bonn to Tel Aviv, the Maoists ceaselessly oppose the struggle for detente and disarmament.

For example, the July 28, 1975, press release from the U.N. Mission of the People's Republic of China states:

"Detente" and "disarmament" are always on their lips, untiresomely chanted, on whatever occasions. Now the Soviet revisionists again want to insert this stuff into the African Summit Conference by way of this "special document," saying that "without the deepening of the process of world detente it is difficult to talk seriously about problems of the development of the Third World and establishment of equitable economic relations," and that the work on disarmament "has no mere importance." One must ask: when the African peoples are waging a fierce struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism, is it possible for the young African countries to disarm?

It is hardly worth mentioning that this Maoist "quote" from the "special document" (the Soviet greeting to the OAU) does not appear in the document itself. What is important is the Maoists' allegation that the U.S.S.R.'s struggle for detente and an end to the imperialist-imposed arms race is a call for "young African countries to disarm."

However, none of the Maoists' endless variations on their anti-Soviet theme can hide the Soviet Union's record of all-round solidarity with "third world" countries. As is well known throughout the world,

the U.S.S.R. and the socialist camp have been up front in supplying arms and material to the liberation movements.

While they falsely accuse the U.S.S.R. of telling the African countries to disarm, the Maoists not only engage in military intervention in the former Portuguese colonies with the United States, NATO and South Africa but they also encourage the United States and NATO to expand military bases in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In addition, they have joined U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger and the Pentagon in calling for Japanese remilitarization.

That Maoist opposition to detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament affects all the class and national liberation struggles is revealed in countless ways. For instance, the money spent annually on the armaments buildup now exceeds the combined incomes of most of the African, Asian and Latin American countries. Those most vulnerable to the consequences of the arms race—increasing unemployment, inflation and poverty, and the widening gap between the underdeveloped and the capitalist countries—are the masses in both the "third world" and the capitalist centers. This is why Maoist opposition to detente and peaceful coexistence makes it the single greatest source of support to the enemies of sovereignty, development and social progress in the "third world."

The Maoists deny the revolutionary connection between the struggle for peaceful coexistence and liberation from neo-colonialism. Instead, they call upon the imperialists to expand their economic, political and military operations (of which the transnational corporations are an integral part) in Europe and the "third world" in the name of countering "Soviet expansion."

Yet, even these bourgeois ideologists will at times acknowledge what Maoist "revolutionaries" persistently deny: The imperialists' motivations for perpetuating the arms race is not "defense against Soviet expansion," but fear that peace and a slowdown in the armaments race would enable the socialist countries to greatly intensify both their internal development and their support to industrial and social advance in the "third world."

That the motivation of those who support the armaments race, with its risk of nuclear disaster, is indeed something other than fear of "Soviet expansion" is revealed in an October 1974 *Foreign Affairs* article:

Most national security policies in today's world are designed not merely to insure the physical survival of individuals within national boundaries, but to assure some minimal expected level of economic welfare . . . and a degree of national political status. (Emphasis in

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the original.) Indeed, some national security policies actually *increase the risks to physical survival* in order to insure greater certainty in the enjoyment of economic welfare, political status and national autonomy. (Nye, op. cit. Emphasis added—H.W.)

Here we have an admission that the imperialist and Maoist efforts to heat up the armaments race, even though they increase "the risks to physical survival," have nothing to do with "national security" or the masses' "economic welfare" in either the capitalist centers or the "third world." Instead, the imperialists aim "to insure greater security" for their continued plunder of the underdeveloped countries, while the Maoists aim at advancing their great-power chauvinist goals.

The struggle for peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and socialist countries, and between capitalist and underdeveloped countries, is not only a realizable goal but an indivisible part of "third world" struggles for liberation from neo-colonialism. It is, in fact, the starting point for overcoming the widening gap between the underdeveloped countries and the capitalist centers.

The significance "third world" countries attach to the struggle for peaceful coexistence was demonstrated at the Conference of Non-aligned Nations in Lima, Peru, in August 1975, which called for

... [strengthening] the coordination and joint actions of the non-aligned countries in order to ensure international peace and security, to eliminate causes of tension, to dismantle military bases, to create peace zones, to encourage total and general disarmament and to strengthen the United Nations.

The Maoists' opposition to peaceful coexistence, detente and disarmament belies the rhetorical "support" they gave the Lima Conference. The position taken by Maoist China's spokesman, Li Chiang, at the U.N. Special Session in September 1975 clashed with the Lima Declaration's call to "eliminate causes of tension" and "encourage total and general disarmament."

Li Chiang, by contrast, declared, "The current international situation is excellent." Exactly what is it in the "situation" that the Maoists consider "excellent"? Li explains:

... the rivalry between the superpowers for world hegemony is becoming ever more acute and extending to every corner of the world ... aggravating tensions and speeding up their arms expansion and war preparations, thus causing greater intranquility in Europe and other parts of the world. *The intensifying contention between the superpowers is bound to lead to war some day. This is independent of man's will.* (Emphasis added—H.W.)

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In order to allege that events are determined "independent of man's will," the Maoists must conceal the difference between socialism and capitalism. In reality, of course, events are determined in the class struggle, in the mobilization of the "will" of opposing classes.

In obscuring socialism's inherent identity with peaceful goals and the contrasting nature of capitalism, Li attempts to hide the source of the armaments race and the war danger. Further, by linking the Soviet Union with the United States, Li tries to deny that the unity of the world's anti-imperialist forces can prevent world war. Instead, he claims war is inevitable—"independent of man's will."

Li then goes on to say:

As things stand now, there is no "irreversible process of detente" at all, but instead, the growing danger of a new world war.

Naturally, Li neglects to mention that the "growing danger of a new world war" has not occurred "independent" of Maoism. On the contrary, the Maoists' "will" has been directed toward disrupting the world forces capable of making peaceful coexistence irreversible. For example, instead of calling upon the peoples of the world to exert their "will" to end the war danger, which would involve nuclear holocaust, Li calls for the following:

The people of all countries must get prepared. However, whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in the end it is the increasingly awakening people of the world ... and not the one or two superpowers, that determine the destiny of mankind.

What Li projects for the world is the same "solution" a U.S. officer advocated in Vietnam: He wanted to "save" a South Vietnamese village by destroying it. And Li's remarks, like those of the U.S. officer, cannot be interpreted as a momentary rhetorical aberration. Li was expressing official Maoist policy adopted at the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of China, which stated:

As for the question of world war, there are only two possibilities: either war will cause revolution, or revolution will avert war.

But this theory neither advances the struggle for revolution nor helps to avert war! On the contrary, it is designed to demobilize the fight for peace by instilling, in the name of "revolution," an acceptance of the Maoist prediction that war cannot be averted!

The assertion that "war will cause revolution" is *alien* to Marxism-Leninism's scientific, humanist principles. The experience of two world wars has confirmed that the struggle for peace is inseparable from the

struggle for class and national liberation. During World War I, the October Revolution was led by those who had fought most uncompromisingly against the war. The socialist advances after World War II were also achieved under the leadership of those who had fought relentlessly to prevent war. And these advances would have been incalculably greater if the struggle to prevent fascist aggression through collective security had not been sabotaged by anti-Soviet forces in the West whose role is paralleled today by right social democrats and Maoists under "left" phrases.

As for the second of Maoism's "two possibilities," the claim that "revolution will avert war" serves to narrow and disrupt unity instead of advancing the unity of those increasingly vast numbers of people who see that the war danger, racism, repression and the economic crisis demand great anti-monopoly formations.

To say that "war will cause revolution" or that "revolution will avert war" is to betray Marxist-Leninist principles. For example, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 had this to say on the struggle for peace:

Any concession to . . . those elements who desire the outbreak of war, even though they mask their opportunism by revolutionary phrases, can only isolate us from the masses. Moreover, we already know by experience that all those who, within the ranks of the working class movement, exalted imperialist war as a means of paving the way to revolution have in the long run inevitably severed their connections with the working class and are today in the camp of fascism. (*VII Congress of the Communist International*. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1939, p. 417)

Maoism not only exalts war "as a means of paving the way to revolution," it has also become a major *instigator* of world war, operating as an advance contingent in imperialism's anti-Soviet, neo-colonialist strategy. Thus, Maoist treason exceeds even that of the "revolutionaries" in Hitler's time who made concessions to the forces that wanted war.

Today, on the issue of war or peace, there is a chilling similarity between the "thought of Mao" and Hitler's thoughts. Like Hitler, the Maoists aim at inculcating massive acceptance of the idea that war is inevitable. Like Hitler, the Maoists couple this strategy with the big lie of a Soviet "threat." In fact, the Maoists describe the country that saved the world from Hitler fascism in the same way the Nazis did to prepare the way for fascism and war.

Speaking of the Soviet "enemy," Hitler said:

Our moral concepts are diametrically opposed to those of Soviet Russia . . . National-Socialism has saved Germany and, probably, Europe from the greatest catastrophe of all time. . . . National-Socialism cannot call upon its German fellow countrymen, the adherents of National-Socialism, to support a system which in our own country we consider our most mortal enemy. (Quoted in *VII Congress of the Communist International*, p. 401)

It is time to consider the meaning of Maoist "moral conceptions" that portray the first land of socialism as the "mortal enemy." And it is time to realize that such "moral conceptions" could plunge the world into a catastrophe indescribably greater than that in Hitler's time. Mao himself revealed the logic of his "moral conceptions" at the meeting in Moscow of the Communist and Workers Parties in 1957, when he said:

Is it possible to estimate the number of human victims a future war could cause? Yes, it is, it will perhaps be one-third of the 2,700 million population of the whole world, that is, only 900 million people. . . . I argued over the issue with Nehru. In this respect he is more pessimistic than I am. I am told that if one-half of mankind were destroyed, there would still remain the other half, but then imperialism would be completely wiped out and only socialism would remain all over the world, and that within half a century or a full century the population will once again increase even more than by half as much again.

After Mao's views were met with shocked repudiation by the Communist and Workers Parties, the Maoists accelerated their struggle against those in the Communist Party of China who remained true to Marxism-Leninism. In this way they prepared for an open break with socialist principles in China and on a world scale.

Over the years the Soviet Union has continued to respond to Mao's "moral conceptions." For example:

. . . has anyone asked the Chinese people who are being doomed to death in advance about whether they agree to be the firewood in the furnace of a nuclear missile war; have they empowered the leadership of the People's Republic of China to issue their burial certificates in advance?

Another question also arises. If, according to the Chinese leaders' forecasts, roughly one-half of the population of such a big country as China is destroyed in a thermonuclear war, how many men will die in countries whose populations do not run to hundreds of millions but to tens or to simply millions of people? It is, after all, quite obvious that many countries and peoples would find themselves

entirely within that half of mankind which the Chinese leaders are prepared to scrap from the human race. Who then has given the Chinese leaders the right to make free with these peoples' destinies or to speak on their behalf?

Who has given the Chinese leaders the right to denigrate the ultimate goal of the international working class movement—the triumph of labor over capital—by making assertions that the way to it runs through world thermonuclear war and that it is worth sacrificing one-half of the globe's population in order to build a higher civilization on the corpses and ruins? This conception has nothing in common with Marxist-Leninist doctrine. We oppose this bestial conception. We have carried on and are carrying on a tireless struggle for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas, for the emancipation of the peoples from all exploitation and oppression, and for the triumph of labor over capital, with the use of methods which are worthy of the great humanistic ideals of socialism and communism. (Soviet Government statement, *Pravda*, August 21, 1963.)

"Second World," "Second Arrowhead"

The direct connection between Mao's speech at the 1957 Moscow meeting and the Maoists' current policies is revealed both in Li Chiang's address to the September 1975 session of the United Nations and in Mao's special relationship with Franz Josef Strauss.

Li Chiang urges the "people of all countries" not to fight for peace, but to "get prepared" for war against the Soviet "superpower." Strauss, who speaks for the same German monopolists that helped put Hitler in power, also demands intensified anti-Soviet preparations. He says that the United States should make Europe a "second arrowhead of NATO." (*Herausforderung und Antwort*, by Franz Josef Strauss, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 174)

The identity of the Maoists' "second world" strategy with Strauss's "second arrowhead" seals the anti-Soviet alliance between the ultra-rightists and the ultra-revolutionary Maoists. Thus, according to the latest "thought of Mao," power comes not "out of the barrel of a gun" but out of nuclear "arrowheads" carrying the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

When the Maoists assert that revolution is the only way to avert war, they are telling the masses to stand aside and let the imperialists decide the question of war or peace. Since they attempt to place this matter in the hands of imperialism, it is only logical that they consider it inevitable. But not only do the Maoists declare that war is bound to come, they also exalt it as in the interests of humanity by saying, "war gives rise to revolution." By proclaiming the "revolutionary" value of

war, the Maoists seek to disrupt the world struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence, which can make the international struggles for class and national liberation irreversible.

The Maoists are escalating their opposition to peaceful coexistence when it is more than ever bound up with averting nuclear disaster, and with turning back the imperialists' attempts to deal with the crisis of capitalism at the expense of the peoples of the capitalist centers and underdeveloped countries.

The indivisible struggle for peace, liberation and social progress can be won only by countering the Maoists' divisive concepts. Anti-imperialist unity can and must be forged on a vastly greater scale than during the war in Indochina, when the heroic peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia triumphed over U.S. aggression with the support of the socialist camp, the "third world" and the masses in the United States and other capitalist countries.

From the very start of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Maoist China and its disciples in the United States and elsewhere ranged themselves with reaction in endless attacks on the mounting peace movements. During this period of more than a decade of U.S. escalation in Vietnam, Maoism escalated its assaults against those fighting for anti-imperialist unity with the Indochinese peoples, camouflaging its disruption behind rhetoric about "Soviet revisionism."

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries took the lead in providing material support to the Indochinese liberation struggles, while at the same time tirelessly forging unity with the movements to end the aggression and to enforce the Indochinese peoples' right to self-determination, which is synonymous with the right to peaceful coexistence.

Maoism, indifferent to the human and material consequences of prolonged aggression, countered this worldwide solidarity with its "self-reliance" and "protracted guerilla war" slogans, each designed for a particular purpose: the "protracted guerilla war" theme was used to disguise the Maoists' complicity in protracting U.S. aggression by rejecting joint anti-imperialist action, while the substitution of "self-reliance" for solidarity was the cover for trying to split the Asian, African and Latin American liberation struggle from the socialist camp and the international working classes.

"Self-Reliance," Solidarity and the "Third World"

The purpose in reviewing the Maoists' treason during the war in Indochina is not only for understanding the past. Rather, it is to examine how these same Maoist policies affect the present.

For example, the Maoists' "two superpowers" rhetoric, their renewed calls for "self-reliance" and virulent opposition to peaceful coexistence are synchronized with the post-Vietnam strategy of the United States and its NATO and Japanese imperialist partners to recoup and expand control over the "third world." As expressed in the Moynihan-Kissinger doctrine, the main role in carrying out this greatly intensified offensive against the underdeveloped countries has been assigned to the transnational corporations. It is in this context that the Maoists prescribe "self-reliance" as the solution for the "third world."

Taken only at face value, the Maoists' "self-reliance" slogan demonstrates their colossal arrogance. Imagine, preaching "self-reliance" to the Vietnamese and other "third world" peoples who have survived the ravages of centuries of colonialism precisely because of their boundless capacity for "self-reliance"!

Now we are living in an era in which the new socialist system has brought class and national liberation to a great part of the earth, an era in which proletarian internationalism between the socialist camp, the international working class and the liberation struggles is decisive. For the Maoists to talk of "self-reliance" while opposing the reciprocal reliance of anti-imperialist solidarity is to betray the cause of class and national liberation. True self-reliance—the self-action of each contingent in the world revolutionary process—is the basis for united action against imperialism. But to proclaim self-reliance as a *substitute* for solidarity is to yield to imperialist domination by attempting to undermine the struggle against it.

No wonder *The New York Times*, the leading ideological organ of U.S. imperialism, has taken such a liking to Maoism. "... Mao is the greatest social revolutionary in history," writes *Times* Associate Editor Tom Wicker. "He knows the only revolution is permanent revolution—against the society revolution creates, as much as against the one it overthrows." (*A Time To Die*, by Tom Wicker, Quadrangle-NYT Book Co., N.Y., 1975, p. 256)

It is worth noting that the *Times* didn't nominate Mao as "the greatest social revolutionary in history" until he turned against revolutionary principles. Now Mao has found his place among imperialism's favorites—just as has Moynihan, monopoly's favorite sociologist.

Maoist-Style "Self-Reliance" and Reparations

How does Maoist-style "self-reliance" apply, for example, to the present situation of the Vietnamese people?

At this time, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South

Vietnam is demanding that the United States, whose destruction of Vietnam is unparalleled, live up to its pledge of reparations under the Paris Agreements. The United States is not only violating this pledge but has placed an embargo on U.S. trade with both the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. It has also vetoed membership for both in the United Nations.

The Vietnamese get no support from Maoist China in their demand for reparations. Further, the Maoists undermine the fight to end the embargo by their ceaseless opposition to detente, i.e., peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial trade. Although both the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam have declared their readiness to enter into normal trade and diplomatic relations with the United States, the Maoists tell them and the other peoples of the "third world" that it is not possible to "indulge in detente with colonialists."

For 15 years the Maoists have also done all they could to disrupt solidarity with Cuba's struggle against the U.S. embargo. This, too, has been carried out in the name of "self-reliance" and opposition to detente.

One must ask: In what way do these Maoist actions assist the underdeveloped nations in their struggle for sovereignty, equitable access to world trade, and all-round development free from the dictates of the transnational corporations?

The answer to that question is coming with increasing frequency from the "third world" peoples themselves. For example, the Communist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, meeting in Havana in June 1975, issued a document, "Latin America in the Struggle Against Imperialism, For National Independence, Democracy, People's Welfare, Peace and Socialism," which declared:

This Conference energetically condemns the foreign policy of the leadership of the Communist Party of China, which flirts with Yankee imperialism, defends its presence in Asia and in Europe, justifies NATO, stimulates West-German imperialism and revanchism, attacks and slanders the USSR with the same viciousness of the worst spokesmen of international reaction, fosters the aggressive militarism of the world bourgeoisie against it, promotes the insane policy of cold war against the heroic Soviet people, and in Latin America has its most ominous expression in the shameless connivance with the Chilean military junta to which it gives political support over the blood of thousands of Communists, Socialists, and other patriots murdered by the brutal repression of the fascist tyranny. The Chinese leadership also fosters everywhere groups of pseudo-

revolutionaries who, from a false radicalism, divide the Left, attack the Communist Parties, obstruct progressive processes and frequently act as enemy agents within the revolutionary movement.

To confront the policy of treason against unity, solidarity and the best traditions of the world revolutionary movement is a duty for all the Communist Parties of Latin America.

The Maoists' Claim to "Third World" Status

The Maoists try to make it appear that their exhortations to the underdeveloped countries have a special legitimacy because they claim for China a place in the "third world." Quite aside from the fact that Maoist policies put China on a collision course with "third world" interests, this claim is based on fiction.

The distinguishing feature of "third world" countries is that they have been colonized but have never been colonizers. Their underdevelopment has resulted primarily from the domination of external exploiters and oppressors. This gives their claim for redress from the colonizers a unique and unchallengeable validity. It makes their cause a central issue in the United Nations and in the world anti-imperialist struggles.

Maoists pretend that, like the "third world" nations, China was colonized but was never a colonizer. In reality China colonized and oppressed peoples (within and beyond its borders) over longer periods in history than any other country, and remained a colonizer right up into modern times.

At the same time, it is true that in the late 19th century the expanding capitalist empires seized enclaves in China, humiliating and plundering the country. But it is also true that each successive Han Chinese ruling class accepted this state of affairs and shared control with external oppressors. This is the way the Han rulers maintained their domination over the many peoples of China through successive historical periods. Maoist great-power chauvinist goals have their roots in the past.

Today the Maoist military-bureaucratic regime has temporarily defeated working-class power and revived Han chauvinism in order to maintain control in China and advance its great-power chauvinist goals beyond its borders. And to accomplish this, it is giving its support to the United States, the world's leading neo-colonialist power.

Thus the dual nature of China's history contradicts the common experience of the "third world" countries as the victims of colonialism but never themselves colonialists. That the Maoists deny the colonizing aspects of their history is in itself an indictment of their great-power

chauvinism. An example is the thousand-year Vietnamese resistance to Chinese domination. In fabricating a fictional past the Maoists place themselves in the company of the most racist, aggressive sectors of U.S. and world imperialism, who pretend they have never been colonizers.

Moreover, in their special relationship with Franz Josef Strauss, the Maoists support the West German monopolists who cover up German imperialism's crimes, including those of Hitlerism. They do so in order to advance, even at the risk of nuclear disaster, their current aims: restoring monopoly capitalism in that area of the former German state that is now the German Democratic Republic.

Unlike the Maoists, the Marxist-Leninist leaders of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union have acknowledged the racism and chauvinism of the past German and Russian empires. But the sources of racism and oppression were abolished when the peoples of Russia abolished the Russian empire and when monopoly capitalism was abolished in a part of the former German empire.

Socialist versus Capitalist Development

When the Maoists speak of "two superpowers" and "the new Czars in the Kremlin," their attack is not only against the Soviet Union. The stratagem this rhetoric expresses is of particular danger to the "third world" peoples. Seeking to isolate the "third world" from the socialist camp, the Maoists promote disruption of the anti-imperialist solidarity which the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America rightfully expect from all who claim to be on the side of liberation, particularly at a time when neo-colonialism is mounting a renewed offensive against them.

Those who rant about "the new Czars in the Kremlin" do so in an attempt to construe the Soviet Union's unprecedented socialist development as the basis for placing it in the same category as the developed capitalist centers.

The capitalist countries' development is, of course, based on centuries-long plunder of most of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Now capitalism seeks at one pole to maintain development in and domination through its own centers, and at the other pole to perpetuate underdevelopment and super-exploitation in the "third world." At the same time, the counterpart to this occurs within the capitalist countries, in the contradiction between increasing impoverishment of the masses and monopoly's enrichment.

The Maoists ever more virulent anti-Soviet rhetoric aims to obscure the most significant new feature in the world today: the basic class, social and economic differences accounting for the rapid development of

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the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as compared to the methods of capitalist development.

In equating socialist and capitalist development, the Maoists assist the neo-colonialist efforts to divert attention from the struggles of the underdeveloped countries. These countries, supported by the socialist camp, demand that the imperialist plunderers relinquish some of what they've stolen for centuries to help overcome the economic backwardness for which they are responsible.

The underdeveloped countries are struggling for a "new international order," an end to dependence on neo-colonialism and for rapid "third world" development. Anti-imperialist unity, which Maoism would undermine, is the precondition for this "new international order." Only such unity can compel the United States and its partners to take at least minimum steps toward equitable relations with the underdeveloped countries. Nothing short of socialism can bring a full solution for "third world" countries, but every advance in the direction of equality and social progress speeds the day of that complete solution.

Maoist deception can never obscure the fact that after the October Revolution the former Czarist Russian nation, led by the Communist Party, established a new proletarian international order: The working class in power in the formerly oppressor nation voluntarily reversed what had been the relationship between imperialist Russia and the oppressed nations in the Czarist empire. For an extended transitional period the new Soviet government, guided by Leninist internationalism, decreed preferential economic and social action for these underdeveloped nations. As a result, the gap was wiped out between the social and economic development of Russia and the Central Asian and other formerly oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union. This was the starting point from which the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp have become a world system in which all the nations are equal participants, standing in solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces in this era of transition to world socialism.

Of the meaning of socialist development to the "third world," the Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Communist Parties stated:

... the Soviet Union and Cuba—just to mention two different experiences in regard to extension and geographic location—have given the example of progressive economic development, in spite of external aggressions, blockade and the attempt to maintain technological backwardness with which more than half a century ago they attempted to stifle newly-born socialism; means used even today in

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the attempts to stop revolutionary Cuba. There is not one single case of successful economic and social development in the countries of Asia, Africa or Latin America among those which have tried to accomplish it through the traditional ways of capitalist development.

Ethnicity: Monopoly's Racist Strategy

*I*n this Bicentennial year, 1976, the national and international role of the United States stands in ever sharper contrast to the revolutionary year of its birth. However, even its birth was shadowed by slavery—and now the United States has become the main center of world imperialism, counterrevolution, racism and reaction. Today U.S. monopoly's internal economic and social crisis and the intensifying general crisis of imperialism's shrinking world provide a stark contrast to the crisis-free world community of socialist nations.

In less than sixty years after the October Revolution and three decades after the defeat of Axis fascism, primarily by the first socialist land, many more new nations have come into being than in the previous five hundred years of capitalism—their emergence made possible by the existence of the new world socialist system.

It is this new majority of nations against whom U.S. imperialism and its NATO, Japanese, Zionist and apartheid South African partners are arrayed—everywhere from the United Nations to Angola. And in this Bicentennial year there is an increasing parallel between U.S. monopoly's strategy against the oppressed and exploited internationally and at home—with Daniel P. Moynihan assigned a central role in each arena.

As if synchronized to coincide with Daniel Moynihan's appointment as U.S. imperialism's chief spokesman at the United Nations, Harvard University Press in 1975 published *Ethnicity: Theory and*

Experience, edited by Moynihan, Professor of Government, and Nathan Glazer, Professor of Education and Social Structure, at Harvard.

What this volume seeks to project—as revealed in the introduction by Moynihan and Glazer and in articles by Daniel Bell, Martin Kilson and others—is a domestic counterpart of monopoly's offensive against the so-called tyranny of the new majority in the United Nations. The material in this book provides new levels of racist divisiveness for the ruling class's domestic strategy, whose goal is to prevent formation of a mass political alternative to its two parties.

Of course, the strategy itself is only too familiar, since its essence is racism—reinforced by monopoly's twin weapon of anti-Communism. Yet it would be a serious error not to recognize its new aspects, which parallel at home the new features of monopoly's neo-colonialist strategy globally.

This volume seeks to define, refine and expand the dimensions of a strategy that would contain the hard-pressed masses—especially the working class—through a stepped-up process of fragmentation of its various components. Moynihan and his associates attempt to conceal the racist, anti-working-class character of this strategy by advocating social action based on "ethnicity" instead of *class*. By substituting "ethnicity" for class, these ideologists simultaneously attempt to obscure the inherent connection between class exploitation and national oppression under capitalism.

The clue to why "ethnicity" is a divisive concept can be found in Webster's dictionary, which defines the word "ethnic" as "of, pertaining to, or designating races or groups of races discriminated on the basis of common traits, customs, etc." What is of particular interest here is the use of the phrase "discriminated on." According to this, races are "discriminated on"—that is to say, distinguished by—"common traits, customs, etc." But an all-important fact is omitted from this definition: i.e., certain races are discriminated *against*!

An example of institutionalized racism's saturation of every aspect of life in this country can of course be found in dictionaries which ignore the distinctions existing in real life between the white "ethnic" groups and the oppressed minorities. What determines the status of Black people in this country is not "common customs" but *common oppression*. If one equates white "ethnics" with Black and other oppressed minorities, the special struggle to remove the racist barriers facing the oppressed can be dispensed with. The concept of "ethnicity" sets an ideological atmosphere in which affirmative action programs for jobs and education of Blacks can be twisted into "racism in reverse." When one substitutes "ethnicity" for class, one projects race against race—

instead of projecting struggles of the multi-racial, multi-national working class and the oppressed minorities against the white ruling class.

Moynihan and his associates see the substitution of "ethnicity" for the decisive, unifying role of the working class as the only way in which monopoly can prevent the "tyranny" of a new domestic majority—a people's anti-monopoly formation. By denying the special needs of the oppressed, "ethnicity" separates the various components of the working class—in order to head off the emergence of united class power, the only force that can lead a people's alternative to the monopoly-imposed crisis of existence. But such an alternative can come into being only to the extent that the white component of the working class resists monopoly's racist strategy in all its forms, and particularly by the support it gives to the struggle for the *special* needs of the oppressed.

"A Matter of Strategic Efficacy"

In their introduction to *Ethnicity*, Moynihan and Glazer quite frankly set forth monopoly's problems:

... it is not usually enough . . . to assert claims on behalf of large but loosely aggregated groups such as "workers," "peasants," "white collar employees." Claims of this order are too general to elicit a very satisfactory response [from employers or government], and even when they do, the benefits are necessarily diffuse and often evanescent, having the quality of an across-the-board wage increase which produces an inflation which leaves everyone about as he was. (Moynihan and Glazer, *Ethnicity*, pp. 8-9)

We won't take time out to deal with the view that workers' wages rather than monopoly's profits, control of government and global operations are the source of inflation—except to note that despite wage freezes, wage cuts, and layoffs and massive unemployment, inflation continues to mount. Instead, we'll go directly to Moynihan's and Glazer's presentation of the central aim of the "ethnicity" strategy:

As a matter of strategic efficacy, it becomes necessary to disaggregate, to make claims for a group small enough to make significant concessions possible and, equally, small enough to produce some gain from the concessions made. A British prime minister who does "something for the workers" probably doesn't do much and most certainly does even less for his party. Doing something for the Scots, however, becomes an increasingly attractive and real option for Westminster. *That* much in the way of resources can be found, and the Scots are likely to know about it and to consider it a

positive gain, at least past the point of the next general election. (Ibid., p. 9. Emphasis in the original.)

Here, Moynihan and Glazer bluntly state that the point of the "ethnicity" strategy is to "disaggregate"—fragment—the working class, and thus prevent independent class action.

"Ethnicity" has, of course, two hands. Its "left" hand tells Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asian Americans and Native American Indians that the "militant" approach is for each group to "go-it-alone." In this way "ethnicity" lures the oppressed away from asserting their special claims alongside of and as part of the working class as a whole.

At the same time "ethnicity's" right hand makes the traditional racist appeal to the white majority—telling them that the oppressed minorities have no special needs and are not their allies but their competitors.

According to the "ethnicity" concept, if separate groups "assert claims," they will "elicit a very satisfactory response" from the ruling class. But if claims are advanced as part of a united working-class struggle, "the benefits are necessarily diffuse and often evanescent,"—and everyone will be left "about as he was."

How this strategy operates was effectively demonstrated in the recent period by the government's handling of the "anti-poverty" programs. The "ethnicity" spokesmen told Blacks that the Puerto Ricans were getting "too much," while Puerto Ricans were told "everything" was going to the Blacks. At the same time, white "ethnics" were informed nothing much was left for them because it all went to the Blacks and Puerto Ricans. This strategy helped "disaggregate" the working class and its allies to the point where job training programs, adult education programs, child care and senior citizens' centers are "bottoming out" for everyone. And the "racism in reverse" concept which denied the need for affirmative action for jobs and education for the oppressed minorities "disaggregated" the masses to the point where educational opportunities for all low- and middle-income people are being slashed away. "Ethnicity" is particularly destructive to the oppressed minorities, but it also does increasing violence to the needs of the white masses.

The history of this country proves that the "ethnicity" strategy—adjusted by Moynihan and his colleagues to meet monopoly's even sharper requirements in the present period of general crisis and decline of capitalism—produces results not for the exploited but for the exploiters. This strategy has a long record of leaving everyone not "about where he was" but *behind* "where he was." The Black people, for

example, find themselves today not "about" where they were ten years ago, but worse off. The Black economic gains of the sixties encompassed only a small minority of the Black people, and yet even these gains proved "evanescent."

Neo-class-collaborationism

In the strategy of "ethnicity"—which denies both the crucial needs of the working class as a whole and the special claims of the oppressed—one can see the domestic corollary of monopoly's neo-colonialist operations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. One can see this parallel, for instance, in the role assigned to the class collaborationists. In fact, the ideology of "ethnicity" both amplifies and refines the traditional forms of racist class collaboration and can more accurately be described as neo-class-collaborationist.

In today's context, neo-class-collaborationism is of special importance to monopoly: There is now intensifying rank-and-file resistance to the policies of Meany and other top labor officials, a resistance given increasing impetus by Black and other minorities in the trade unions, and by the liberation movements as a whole. At the same time more and more signs appear indicating a growing desire for a political alternative to the two parties that offer only racism, unemployment, poverty and inflation to the masses. Thus, it is certainly a matter of "strategic efficacy" for monopoly to "disaggregate" the working class and its allies—to prevent the struggles of the oppressed in the labor movement and the society as a whole and the workers' fight for better wages and conditions from combining into an anti-monopoly front and a mass political alternative.

Traditionally class collaborationism has meant rewarding a privileged minority of skilled white workers at the expense of the mass of workers, with the majority of white workers kept "in line" through racist-induced fears that the demands of the oppressed minorities would cause their own conditions to descend to the level of the oppressed.

But neo-class-collaborationism allows monopoly to vastly extend and more flexibly use its twin weapons of racism and anti-Communism. Through "ethnicity," monopoly can make concessions to a privileged minority *within* each racial and "ethnic" component, while the crisis of existence for the overwhelming majority of each group grows worse.

When Moynihan and Glazer assert that "doing something" for the Scots instead of the English working class has become "an increasingly attractive and real option" for the English ruling class, they are suggesting that "doing something" for a particular nationality may placate them and also weaken unity between the working class and that

nationality. (They are also implying inequality between the English and the Scots without indicating its nature—which is not a matter of color but has its source in the English ruling class.)

By analogy they are also suggesting that such a strategy applied at home might succeed in deceiving the Black people "at least past the point of the next general election." This cynical comment, added to Moynihan's concept of "benign neglect," indicates the direction in which monopoly wants to push the country in the Bicentennial election year.

In concluding their introduction, Moynihan and Glazer express a certain fear that "ethnicity" will not succeed in sidetracking the class struggle:

... some say the ethnic conflict is simply the *form* that class conflict has been taking on certain occasions in recent decades, and without the motor of class exploitation nothing else would follow. (Ibid., p. 25)

Like Moynihan and Glazer, Daniel Bell also hopefully embraces the "efficacy" of "ethnicity." But he too reflects doubt as to whether "ethnicity" can indefinitely hold back united working-class struggles. As if to warn corporate monopoly of the dangers ahead, Bell writes:

... while ethnicity has become more salient than before, saliency is not predominance, and ... for many political issues, functional interest groups and classes may be more important than the ethnic and communal groups in the society. (Ibid., p. 174)

Conflicting views on the role of race and class and the connection between the two have recurred at almost every turning point in the Black liberation struggle. The revival in many forms of the concept of race over class—including the views expressed by the "ethnicity" ideologists—is directly related to the present stage in U.S. monopoly's strategy to counter the multi-racial people's struggles at home and the peoples' struggles against neo-colonialism in Africa.

Class, Race and Black Liberation

Conflicting views on the role of race and class and the connection between the two have recurred at almost every turning point in the struggle for Black liberation. And today a certain parallel to the ambiguities with which the authors of *Ethnicity* surround the relationship between class and race can be found in the writings of some ideologists in the Black liberation movement.

The current debate on this question has emerged especially within circles that would revive neo-Pan-Africanism—an ideology that contradicts W.E.B. Du Bois's anti-imperialist conception of Pan-Africanism. Today this debate takes place when classical colonialism has been defeated in most of Africa, and the nations that have won independence are struggling for control over their resources and to choose their own path of social and economic development—in face of neo-colonialism's attempts to exert new forms of economic and political domination.

At home this debate occurs at a moment bearing comparison with the time when a new alignment was emerging as a national force against the slave power—and when the ideas of Frederick Douglass and Karl Marx speeded the appearance of that great coalition. Today's imperative in the United States is another great people's formation—an anti-monopoly coalition. It will be a historic turning point for the masses in this country when that coalition movement achieves the level already attained by the anti-imperialist forces in Africa.

Now, when the crisis of capitalism recalls that earlier crisis of the slave system, monopoly's desperation makes it every bit as aggressive

as was the slavocracy in its time. Today's corporate ruling class will do everything in its power to forestall emergence of an alternative to its rule of racism, repression and poverty. And central to its efforts to prevent such a mass formation is its intensification of disunity among the multi-racial, multi-national masses—through, for example, the strategy of "ethnicity."

Of particular interest in the present debate in the Black liberation movement on the role of race and class is an article by Lerone Bennett, Jr., in *Ebony*, September 1974. Unfortunately, by suggesting that the liberation struggle can be advanced outside the framework of working-class and mass unity against monopoly and its neo-colonialist operations, the article objectively plays into the hands of the "ethnicity" strategy. Specifically, the article tries to buttress views on race and class presented by part of the U.S. delegation to the Sixth Pan-African Congress, held in Tanzania, July 1974. These views—which attempted to turn the Congress away from a revolutionary direction—were resoundingly defeated by a majority of the delegates at this historic gathering.

The majority decisions at the Congress were based on the conviction that the peoples of Africa, and those of African descent outside the African continent, can achieve liberation—find the solution to racist oppression—only by adhering to a strategy of united anti-imperialist struggle.

In attempting to counter the anti-imperialist stand of the Congress, Lerone Bennett deplores the delegates who

denounced the "utopian idea of returning to promised lands" and rejected a "purely racial" struggle of Africans and people of African descent in favor of a worldwide struggle by the oppressed black, brown, yellow and white peoples of the world. (L. Bennett, "Pan-Africanism at the Crossroads," *Ebony*, September 1974)

According to Bennett, the Congress's stand was a "possibly fatal homecoming" for Pan-Africanism. Actually, the majority of delegates did all they could to make it a "fatal homecoming" for neo-Pan-Africanism—but it was the opposite of that for Dr. Du Bois's revolutionary Pan-Africanism! Certainly, the Congress's decisions are historically "fatal" to concepts of "back to Africa" and a "purely racial" struggle—instead of a battle against all forms of neo-colonial and apartheid oppression.

It would assuredly have been "fatal" to the cause of liberation if the delegates had called for an African "homecoming," instead of recognizing that home is where one lives—and if home is within the orbit of imperialism, there one fights oppression.

Regrettably, Bennett does not present an accurate picture of the progressive majority's positions at the Sixth Congress. Instead, he distorts their positions—and then polemizes against the positions he has assigned them.

According to Bennett, the progressives views were

theoretically, politically, and historically unsound. It is not true, for example, that Pan-Africanism is the class struggle and nothing else but the class struggle. And it is dangerous nonsense, refuted by 400 years of struggle and 74 years of Pan-Africanism, to suggest that Africans, or people of African descent, can safely entrust their fate to the white working class. Moreover, there are few, if any, situations of African oppression in the world which can be explained solely by a class analysis. To be sure, there are few, if any, situations of African oppression in the world which can be explained without a class analysis. But that is only another way of saying that the question of color or class is not a question of either/or—it is a question of both/and. In other words, neither a class nor a color analysis explains the oppression of Africans which requires both a class and a color analysis, and additional formulations based on the realities of specific African situations.

Bennett goes on to indicate what he means by "additional formulations" when he refers approvingly to Jasper Forber, delegate from Britain, who declared the Congress in error for not "recognizing that the primary contradiction in our lives . . . is the colour of our skins."

Bennett then proceeds with his polemic against the idea that "Pan-Africanism is the class struggle and nothing but the class struggle"—a view he attributes to the Marxist-Leninists at the Congress. But neither the Marxist-Leninists in particular nor the progressives in general ever took such a position—before, during or after the Congress!

Capitalism, which is now in its imperialist era of general crisis and decline, is based on class and national oppression. The liberation of the working classes and the oppressed peoples in the capitalist sector of the world can be attained only by an anti-imperialist strategy involving the three components in the world revolutionary process: the community of socialist nations from Moscow to Berlin, Hanoi and Havana—where the working class is in power; and the working class and oppressed peoples in the capitalist orbit.

To allege that "Pan-Africanism is the class struggle and nothing but the class struggle" is to make Pan-Africanism the other side of the counterfeit coin bearing the message, "the primary contradiction in our lives . . . is the colour of our skin." Neither of these pseudo-concepts has anything in common with Marxism-Leninism: Both deny the

primary role of the multi-racial, multi-national international working class within the anti-imperialist struggle; and both contradict the unity of the three currents in the world revolutionary struggle.

Of course, Lerone Bennett is correct when he says, "oppression of Africans" (and, we should add, Afro-Americans) requires "both a class and a color analysis." However, in obscuring the interrelationship between the two forms of oppression, he denies their common class source—that is, the monopolists of the transnational corporations in the United States, West Europe, Japan and apartheid South Africa. The logic of Bennett's position—which does not recognize the class source of oppression—is a rejection of the primacy of class as the unifying force in the struggle for liberation.

To accept the premise, as does Bennett, that: the primary contradiction is "the colour of our skin"—a biological fact—is, to use Bennett's own expression, "dangerous nonsense." For example, Bennett endorsed the position of the delegate from Britain who proclaimed the "primacy of race" concept. But one must ask: In what way does skin color explain 300 years of bloody oppression of Ireland by England?

And one must also ask: How does the primacy of color-over-class theory explain neo-colonialist intervention in Angola—an operation supported by U.S. imperialism, Maoist China, the Black mercenaries of Zaire who assassinated Lumumba, the fascist white South African regime, and the dregs of the army of the Portuguese fascist colonialists who were defeated by the MPLA after 14 years of fighting? And how does color-over-class explain Roy Innis's call for Black U.S. troops to fight alongside apartheid South African divisions?

The revolutionary fighters against neo-colonialism—including those struggling against a reversal of the victory over the oldest colonial power in Africa—are aware of the "dangerous nonsense" of an ideology asserting primacy of skin over class. The anti-imperialists from all over Africa, who rejected this "dangerous nonsense" at the Sixth Pan-African Congress, saw that such an ideology plays into the hands of the Kissingers and Moynihans who seek to conceal racist imperialism's class aims behind the non-white skins of Roberto, Mobutu, Savimbi, Mao Tse-tung, etc.

The progressives at the Congress were falsely accused of "entrusting the fate" of Africans and peoples of African descent to "the white working class." However, the progressives themselves may have wondered if those delegates who insisted that a difference in color is a "primary contradiction" between themselves and white workers were not in effect "entrusting the fate" of oppressed peoples to the transnational corporations, who exploit workers of all colors. This thought may

well have crossed their minds, particularly since the delegates making the accusation against the progressives were from the formerly most powerful imperialist country (England) and its successor in that position (the United States).

President Sekou Touré of Guinea was one of those at the Congress who rejected the primacy of color theory—which suggests that the primary contradiction is between white and non-white workers instead of between imperialism and the workers and peoples of all colors. Touré declared that "the color of the skin, whether black, white, yellow or brown, is no indication of the social class, ideology, code of conduct, qualities and abilities of a man or a people."

Surely, the events in Angola dramatically confirm that class orientation and ideology—not skin color—determine "code of conduct." And this is as true in the U.S. Black liberation movement as it is in Angola. It is the bourgeois nationalist class orientation of Holden Roberto, Jonas Savimbi and Roy Innis—not skin color—that determines their "code of conduct." And this "code of conduct" has brought them into an alliance with neo-colonialism—including apartheid South Africa—against the Angolan liberation movement and the interests of all the African peoples. At the same time, the Robertos, Savimbis and Innises try to advance the aims of those aspiring to become an exploiting class with black skins, sharing in imperialism's plunder and oppression of Africa.

Via a "code of conduct" that has led them into an alliance with imperialism, these forces confirm a basic tenet of Marxist-Leninist class analysis: In the present era, the emerging nations cannot entrust their destiny to those with a bourgeois nationalist class orientation. When they first appeared, emerging nations depended on the breakup of feudalism and ascending capitalism. Today, in the era when the central contradiction is between the socialist system and the declining capitalist system, the liberation of emerging nations is intertwined with the ascendancy of the international working class.

Those who would identify themselves primarily by "the color of their skin," Sekou Touré went on to say, are engaged in a skin game as camouflage for class policies serving "the cause of imperialism." Touré then gave the following warning:

Pan-Africanism was founded as a serious movement of revolt of a People against the forces of exploitation, oppression and alienation. And because these forces . . . have embodied in their ideology of domination the myth of racial superiority, Pan-Africanism right from the beginning ran the risk of engulfing itself in racism while professing to be anti-racist. Now, although Pan-Africanism was founded as a movement of revolt, it cannot carry out its project of

liberation unless it becomes a revolutionary movement of liberation. (Quoted in Bennett's article.)

Although Bennett reports that "Thunderous applause greeted these words," he himself disapproves of them. However, one must remember that such figures as C.L.R. James, George Padmore, Marcus Garvey and currently Roy Innis have "embodied in their ideology" the myth that race predominates over class—and have thus played a disarming role in the anti-racist struggle against the capitalist *class* source of oppression.

Today, Roy Innis and his African counterparts profess the primacy of color to disguise their *class* alliance with imperialism—which aims to "engulf" the African liberation movements in new forms of neo-colonialist domination, as attested to by the attack against the MPLA.

In *Ebony*, Lerone Bennett has written a long polemic against the anti-imperialist direction of the Sixth Pan-African Congress. And the logic of Bennett's position is such that, despite his article's length, it contains not a single criticism of apartheid South Africa—or the United States. But how can one support the freedom fight in another country without fighting the oppressor in one's own? And isn't this doubly true when one's own country is the United States—whose ruling class is the primary enforcer of class, national and race oppression on a world scale?

The Problem of the 20th Century

Those who propagate the primacy of color over class are in fundamental conflict with the life and works of W.E.B. Du Bois, in whose name they often claim to speak. In *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, I pointed out that

the imperialist enemy, its allies and collaborators come in many colors. Imperialism is headquartered in Tokyo as well as in Washington, London, Bonn, Paris, Lisbon and Praetoria. The betrayers of the people—whether in the Sudan, the Congo, Ghana, Vietnam, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, Pakistan, the Philippines, or Guyana, come in all colors.

The oppressors themselves are never divided by color. They compete and make war against each other—with the lives of the people—for the "right" to dominate and exploit. Among themselves, U.S., British, French, Italian, German, Japanese, Belgian, Dutch and South African imperialists are color-blind. They are likewise color-blind when it comes to bribing and manipulating the people's betrayers in Africa, Asia and the Americas.

These color-blind monopolists exploit color differences to blind the oppressed to their common class interests, which imperatively call for unity against imperialism.

At the beginning of this century, the young Du Bois stated that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line." And today's advocates of a skin strategy often quote this to justify linking Garveyism to Pan-Africanism. In this they take their cue from George Padmore, ignoring Du Bois' uncompromising struggle against Garveyism in all its forms, and misinterpreting Du Bois' meaning when he spoke of the "color line" . . .

Even though, as he says in his autobiography, he was not yet a Marxist, the young Du Bois was correct in stating that the "color line" is indeed the "problem of the 20th century." In the same year that Du Bois advanced this concept, the young Lenin was applying the liberating ideas of Marx and Engels to the imperialist stage of capitalism, concluding that the workers and peoples within the Czarist Empire, as elsewhere throughout the imperialist world, could defeat their common oppressors only by overcoming disunity at the point of differences in color and nationality.

Lenin's lifelong work demonstrates that he understood what Du Bois was driving at. Du Bois declared that the "color line" was the "problem of the 20th century"—he did not say it was the *solution*. As Lenin demonstrated, the solution lies in a strategy to overcome the disunity of the oppressed and exploited at the line of differences in color and nationality.

Because Lenin led in building the first political party dedicated to the solution of the "color line" as "the problem of the 20th century," the October socialist revolution was able to put an end, for the first time in history, to class, national and racial oppression.

This is why the Marxist-Leninist principles of the October Revolution to this day forms the ideological basis for the solution to the problems of the 20th century in Africa and in every other continent.

On the other hand, the neo-Pan-Africanists have turned Du Bois' famous statement into the opposite of its real meaning. *Their black skin color strategy aggravates the problem rather than offers a solution to the problem of the 20th century.* (*Strategy for a Black Agenda*, by Henry Winston, International Publishers, New York, 1973, pp. 18-20. Emphasis in the original.)

Of a person who adopts bourgeois-nationalist positions in any form (which, of course, includes the primacy of skin-over-class concept), Lenin wrote:

[he is] unembarrassed even by the fact that by his tactics of division and dismemberment he is *reducing to nil* the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages. (*Collected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, p. 521. Emphasis in the original.)

In applying Marxism to imperialism, capitalism's final stage, Lenin demonstrated that monopoly capital's role was now international and embraced even those areas where pre-capitalist formations still prevailed. Lenin recognized that in this new stage in history, the working class of all races, nations and people was destined to take the lead in the fight to replace capitalism with socialism. Lenin was the first to see that the international working class—even though it had not yet developed as a class within large parts of the world—would emerge as the decisive force on a global scale. This is why he saw the working class as the basis for solving what Du Bois called "the problem of the 20th century."

Lenin was uncompromising in the struggle for "the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages"—for the solidarity of the Russian working class with the nations oppressed by Russian imperialism, including the races and peoples within the underdeveloped Asian periphery of the Czarist empire. It was the Marxist-Leninist principles of class and national liberation that gave birth to the October Socialist Revolution, freeing all races and peoples in one-sixth of the world from imperialism and opening up the epoch in which the fight for liberation from oppression and exploitation would be merged with the struggles leading toward the transition to socialism on a global scale.

Class, Color and Liberation

In reading Lerone Bennett's article, one wonders why he treats the question of color in a way that may have seemed justifiable 75 years ago when Pan-Africanism first appeared, but shows no awareness of the changes in the world since then. At the turn of the century, class and national liberation struggles were in a very early stage, and oppression based on color was the most visible phenomenon in the lives of Black peoples, whether as an oppressed minority in the United States or as oppressed majorities in Africa. But what is decisive in solving a problem is not necessarily its most evident aspect. Color was and is the most apparent facet of the problem, yet the solution—75 years ago and

today—is anti-imperialist struggle. But today—in contrast to the past—anti-imperialist struggle is at a high level of visibility. Today, advances toward liberation are at an entirely new stage, because the liberation movements are linked with the world class struggle—at the center of which is the multi-racial, multi-national working class in power in the socialist community.

Because of the conditions at the time Pan-Africanism first appeared, it seemed logical to many that the special oppression of peoples with black skin would be countered only by a strategy based on skin color. What appeared to lend this concept added credibility was the fact that class stratification among the various African peoples and those of African descent in the United States and the Caribbean was at an embryonic level. However, even at this stage all these peoples were oppressed by the world system of capitalism, which had completed its first imperialist division of the globe.

Today, those who cling to an early concept of Pan-Africanism apparently do not recognize that greater changes have taken place in the lives of Africans or those of African descent since the early days of Pan-Africanism than in the previous 500 years—and these changes have been even more profoundly pronounced in the three decades since the Soviet Union led in the destruction of Nazi imperialism.

In the United States, Black people have been transformed into a predominantly urban population—from landless peasants to a predominantly proletarian people. Within this shift, class stratification has emerged: i.e., a Black bourgeoisie and—of greater significance—three million Black workers at the heart of mass industry and transport, now form a vital part of the total working class.

In Africa, more than 40 independent countries—U.N. members—are now involved in various levels of struggle against new forms of colonialist encroachment. The defeat of Portuguese colonialism—the last colonial empire in Africa—was not achieved by solidarity based on color, but on anti-imperialist unity. And the neo-colonialist enemy was, and is, aided by Black accomplices in Africa and the United States.

It is the lineup of forces in the international class struggle—the opposing sides in the fight around neo-colonialism and imperialism—that will determine the future of not only Angola but all Africa (and, for that matter, the world). At this decisive time, Lerone Bennett acknowledges class as a factor only to assert the primacy of race—thus negating the primary class features in the liberation struggles.

The class essence of these struggles can be seen in the fact that the two most racist regimes in the world, the United States and South Africa, are arrayed with the Black betrayers of Africa and Maoist China

against Angolan liberation. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the socialist community are uncompromisingly on the side of liberation in Africa and wherever people are fighting oppression.

Bennett does not acknowledge that events in Africa are determined by the era in which we live—the era of capitalism's decline and the transition to world socialism, which transforms the character of national liberation movements as compared to the period before capitalism's decline.

In the earliest period of capitalism's ascent out of feudalism, the attainment of nationhood, national independence and development depended on the degree to which capitalist economic formations became dominant. For those nations whose opportunity for freedom and independence comes not during the ascendancy but during the decline of capitalism, the extent to which liberation—from all forms of racism, neo-colonialism and imperialism—is attained depends on the country's success in moving on a non-capitalist path, opening up the way toward socialist economic formations and thus, true social development. These factors are at the center of events in Africa and all "third world" countries.

The solution to all forms of oppression in these historic conditions demands anti-imperialist, *class* decisions. But Bennett does not recognize this. Hence, in his polemics against the progressive majority at the Sixth Pan-African Congress, he tends to put a one-dimensional emphasis on color, which in practice means a rejection of the anti-imperialist struggle internationally and of the anti-monopoly struggle in the United States.

Of the Congress, Bennett writes:

What brought them all together . . . was the Pan-African idea of the liberation and unification of Africa and the regeneration of Africans and peoples of African descent. (*Ebony*, op. cit.)

One cannot speak of liberation and link it with "unification"—for in the present African context, "unification" contradicts the right of self-determination for Angola and for each of the African peoples. Nor can the complicated liberation struggles of the many different peoples of Africa and African descent be reduced to fit an oversimplified concept involving similarity of origin and color, but ignoring dissimilarities in historic conditions—which call not only for a distinct strategy for Black liberation in the United States but for varying strategies among the African peoples as well.

Rejection of an oversimplified color analysis does not mean rejection of solidarity among Africans and peoples of African descent. But

one must not confuse solidarity with strategy; the two are interrelated but not identical. One must recognize that it is "dangerous nonsense" to substitute an abstract, "classless" skin solidarity for an anti-imperialist strategy. As a matter of fact, Bennett does not even mention U.S. or world imperialism. Again, how can one speak seriously of liberation without exposing U.S., West German, apartheid South African, Japanese, French, Belgian or British imperialism? And how can a strategy for liberation ignore the central class contradictions within the capitalist world and between the world socialist and capitalist systems?

Unfortunately, Bennett's one-dimensional emphasis on color leads him into making proposals that play directly into the hands of the enemies of liberation.

Bennett polemizes against the progressives who defeated the neo-Pan-Africanist concept of African "unification." But to propose unification before the various struggles for independence and liberation have been won—to advocate "unification" between African states that have taken a non-capitalist path with states still dominated by collaborators with neo-colonialism—is to propose that the African peoples accept neo-colonialism's aims, which would deny them the right to self-determination.

One must recognize that such a concept of African unification dovetails with neo-colonialism's strategy, especially U.S. imperialism's maneuvers against its imperialist rivals as well as African independence—in other words, U.S. efforts to hold the lead within the combined Western, Japanese and South African economic, political and military offensive against African liberation.

U.S. imperialism is, of course, careful to make no open call for the "unification" of the more than 40 independent African nations who threw off the yoke of colonialism. In reality, however, it strives for "unification" of Africa within the orbit of neo-colonial economic dependence. The aim of such "unification"—and U.S. imperialism's relations with its neo-colonialist rivals—is described by Professor E. A. Tarabrin, who heads the international relations section of the Institute of Africa of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, in his book *The New Scramble for Africa*. Giving an example of a virtual U.S. "ultimatum" to its European rivals and/or allies on the question of African "aid," Tarabrin quotes Rupert Emerson, a former White House Adviser on African Affairs. Emerson stated:

. . . the fullest possible collaboration of all potential donor countries is obviously to be sought, but the price of winning their collaboration is too high if the United States must be prepared to play a role secondary to that of the ex-colonial powers. As American relations

with Africa evolve, it is essential that America both have, and make it apparent that it has, an independent policy toward African countries and not one contingent upon its relations with the former colonial metropolises. (*Africa and United States Policy*, by Rupert Emerson, pp. 41-42. Quoted in *The New Scramble for Africa*, by E. A. Tarabrin, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974.)

In carrying out its "independent policy," U.S. imperialism seeks increasingly to place its African "aid" programs on a regional basis in order to extend its influence while displaying only nominal regard for the sovereignty of countries within such regions. These tactics, Tarabrin points out, have "several objectives":

to force the young states to form groups that will benefit the USA; to economically link progressive regimes with reactionary ones; to create the conditions that would facilitate the expansion of private capital; and to weaken the influence of the former metropolises, which are trying to obstruct the establishment of American hegemony in Africa. (*The New Scramble for Africa*, p. 112)

Tarabrin's analysis is certainly confirmed by recent events in the region of southern Africa. There, U.S. imperialism relies primarily on apartheid South Africa and Maoist China for intervention in Angola. But the United States also enlists its NATO rivals behind its aim to establish hegemony over the former Portuguese colonies—to block their economic, social and political progress by crushing their progressive governments in a region dominated by such regimes as Mobutu's and the South African fascists'.

"Regeneration" and Self-Determination

Lerone Bennett speaks of the "regeneration of Africans" but does not relate it to the central issue of the right of each African country to choose a non-capitalist path without intervention from neo-colonialism.

To speak of "regeneration" or "unification" without supporting the legal government of the People's Republic of Angola—and without opposing UNITA and FNLA—is to deny Angola and other African countries the right to self-determination, including the right to a non-capitalist path. Thus, the neo-Pan-Africanist proposals for African "unification" at this time contradict the African peoples' struggle against neo-colonialism for independence and regeneration.

When Bennett polemizes against the Marxists and progressives who reject the neo-Pan-Africanist call to substitute "unification" for the right of self-determination, he not only objectively abets the imperialist opponents of this basic right, but he also in effect proposes that Africans

adopt a strategy putting them on a collision course with history—because it is a strategy that fails to distinguish between the first and second eras of the emergence of nations. The nations that appeared during the rise of capitalism were polarized, with the working class and the capitalist class at the two extremes. The world itself also became increasingly polarized, and was eventually divided up by the metropolitan centers of capitalism. During the more than 500 years of capitalism—and on a qualitatively new scale during its final monopoly stage—these metropolitan centers plundered and suppressed the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The October Revolution not only marked the beginning of liberation for the international working class, but also opened up the second era of the emergence of nations—this time of the nationally, colonially and racially oppressed peoples. This era—unlike the first round in the appearance of nations—comes at the dusk of capitalism. *The difference in strength between the rising socialist system and the capitalist system is seen in the fact that more nations have gained independence since the October Revolution opened up and accelerated the surge of national and colonial revolutions than in the previous 500 years of capitalism.*

It is this historic difference between capitalism's national oppression and socialism's liberating impetus that Lerone Bennett does not acknowledge. However, one must recognize that Moynihan and Kissinger acknowledged its results when they condemned the "tyranny of the new majority" in the United Nations!

Continuing his polemics against the progressive majority at the Congress, Bennett states:

As in so many "Pan" movements, the Pan-African idea came not from the center but from the circumference, not from Africa but from Africans in the diaspora.

But how can one speak of Pan-Africanism—which is based on an anti-imperialist concept—in a way that identifies it with the "pan" in, for example, imperialist Pan-Germanism or Pan-Americanism! It's hardly surprising that delegates at the Congress who made proposals reflecting the influence of such views met with sharp repudiation from the progressive majority.

It is also surprising that Bennett writes of Pan-Africanism as originating "not from the center but from the circumference, not from Africa but from Africans in the diaspora." This conception of Pan-Africanism's origins ignores centuries of struggle by the brutally oppressed peoples of Africa and, by implication, by those of African descent as well.

Up until the start of the breakup of world imperialism that resulted from the October Revolution, conditions in the African countries, though different in form, paralleled those of the slave system in the South in the United States. Pan-Africanism's appearance as a movement that could operate more or less openly occurred of necessity outside imperialist-dominated Africa—just as Abolitionism as an open movement appeared in the North.

But Frederick Douglass clearly recognized that Abolitionism had its real origin not on the "circumference" but in two centuries of struggle within the slave system. And the record of Dr. Du Bois's life reveals his understanding of Pan-Africanism as rooted in centuries of African struggle—with solidarity from the "diaspora" reinforcing but not replacing that struggle. Du Bois recognized that just as the defeat of the slave power opened up a new stage in the Black liberation struggle in the United States, the October Revolution profoundly speeded the anti-imperialist fight in Africa and throughout the world by placing all liberation struggles—both class and national—in a new historic framework.

The "circumference" theory contradicts both the history of the Black experience in the United States (including Bennett's own writings on this subject) and the African experience. And like the call for immediate "unification" of Africa, it bears an objective relationship to the "Pan" neo-colonialism of the United States and its allies in NATO and racist South Africa.

Bennett polemizes at length against the progressive majority at the Congress, but he finds nothing to criticize in a proposal made by certain U.S. delegates to establish a Pan-African Center of Technology. Yet, in the view of most African delegates, U.S. imperialism would try to use such a "center" to expand to continental dimensions its regional tactics for weakening the African states' sovereignty.

What Kind of African, Afro-American Connection

What was needed after the Sixth Pan-African Congress was a critical evaluation of the policies advocated by some Afro-American delegates. Instead, however, these mistaken policies were reasserted not only by Lerone Bennett but by Courtland V. Cox as well. In "The Pan-African Reality," a paper delivered at the Black Scholar Retreat, March 1975, Cox also expresses views that place him in conflict with the anti-imperialist requirements for African liberation and for Black liberation in the United States.

According to Cox:

Africans—wherever they are today—seem to have a certain amount of difficulty defining themselves as *Africans without qualifications*. Historically Africans have the qualifications of tribe, language and geography. Heaped upon the tribal and other distinctions are the burden of those "inherited pieces of land" called independent states. (Emphasis added—H.W.)

In his ambiguous reference to "Africans wherever they are," Cox implies that Blacks in the United States (as well as other places outside Africa) should be "defining themselves"—their situation and strategy—without making any "qualifications" or "distinctions" between themselves and Africans.

This is a self-defeating, separatist concept for Black Americans. It reflects, in today's context, George Padmore's neo-Pan-Africanist ideas which offered new forms for imperialist penetration of Africa.

Moreover, one wonders how Cox can speak of "inherited pieces of land"—when independence in any form on the African continent was not "inherited" but won by the African peoples through long struggles against colonialism in the lands where they live, which are also the lands where their ancestors lived and fought for liberation. Cox's view that the "inherited pieces of land called independent states" are a "burden," contradicts reality: The *burden* is neo-colonialism's attempts to destroy the independence of these states. The struggle to consolidate the independent existence of the former colonies—dramatized now by the armed conflict in Angola—is an indivisible part of the battle to oust imperialism from every part of the African continent, including the racist minority regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Cox goes on to assert that

... much of the leadership class of Africa has a vested interest in maintaining their prerogatives of power and prestige. There is a real dilemma in asking those who profit from the maintenance of forty-three independent states to be the instrument of African unity. And any attempt to build a movement of African unity without the involvement and consent of the African leadership class will amount to stubborn resistance, jail or exile.

For Cox there is indeed a "real dilemma"—and it springs from his call for immediate "African unity," instead of anti-imperialist unity. Thus, he directs his fire at the vacillating national petty-bourgeoisie (whose class nature he obscures with the ambiguous term "leadership class") but uses no ammunition against the U.S. monopoly class or world imperialism.

But for the anti-imperialist Pan-Africanists in the independent states who rely on the "involvement and consent" of the working class and masses, there is no "dilemma": These progressive forces are not "asking" those who put private profit before independence for permission to pursue a course against neo-colonialism. At the same time they try to take advantage of the contradictions between imperialism and the national petty bourgeoisie in order to broaden anti-imperialist unity.

The substitution of "African unity" for anti-imperialist unity is the source of Cox's opposition to the principle of self-determination—the starting point for attaining "African unity" against neo-colonialism. To call for "African unity" outside an anti-imperialist framework, without respect to each country's right to self-determination, is to become enmeshed in neo-colonialist strategy. And this is the logic of Cox's position. When he projects the "maintenance of forty-three independent states" as an obstacle instead of a pre-condition for African unity, he echoes the Moynihan-Kissinger line. They attacked the "tyranny of

the new majority"—and Cox follows with an attack against the "tyranny" of the majority of the forty-three independent African states.

In Cox's view

... the OAU represents a major contradiction. It seems implicitly to have legitimized the maintenance of the separation of Africa by independent states but at the same time is the instrument of African unity.

Thus, according to Cox, the "major contradiction" is not between imperialism and the OAU member states—but is represented by the OAU itself. Of course, there is a contradiction *within* the OAU, but Cox does not mention it—the struggle between those seeking accommodation with and those struggling against neo-colonialism.

In reality, there is no contradiction but a dialectical unity between the fight to strengthen the OAU on the basis of anti-imperialist policies and to strengthen it as an instrument of African unity—the unity of sovereign states. In his treatment of the OAU, Cox is again fitting in with U.S. imperialism's attack on the U.N. majority: to assail the OAU for "legitimizing" the exercise of the right of self-determination parallels imperialism's attempts to "legitimize" destruction of the independent African states. This destructive approach to the OAU also corresponds with U.S. imperialism's efforts to destroy that organization by turning it into an African counterpart of the Organization of American States—to be used at this time particularly against Angola and the liberation movements in southern Africa.

Of course, there are divisions in the OAU. It would be strange if it were otherwise, when one considers that most of Africa (as most of the "third world") has yet to break out of the capitalist orbit. And the contradictions resulting from imperialist rivalries as well as from imperialism's common aims are reflected in relations between OAU member states. Such reflections of imperialist contradictions can be combated only to the degree that anti-imperialist struggle advances on the African continent. And this struggle takes place unevenly and in different forms within and between African countries.

Cox goes on to state:

The present generation of Africans must be curious to know what fundamental changes has the Pan-African and the anti-colonial struggles brought about in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, and, indeed, among the colonized themselves.

This "militant"-sounding estimate is in reality a rationale for downgrading the significance of the fight to consolidate political independence in the relationship between the *former* colonizer and the

formerly colonized—as the prerequisite for economic and social programs among the formerly “colonized themselves.”

Those who denigrate the African independence struggles also deride the civil rights struggles in the United States. It is certainly true that in both the post-civil rights stage in the United States and the first stage of independence in Africa, the conditions of the Black masses grew worse. But to deny that these struggles brought about changes in the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is to undermine the new stage in the struggle both in Africa and the United States for economic and social advance.

Cox further demonstrates this underestimation of the independence struggles that destroyed classical colonialism in most of Africa—just as the U.S. civil rights struggles spelled the end of “legal” jim crow—when he writes:

The negotiated independence of separate state sovereignties reneged on the cardinal principle of Pan-Africanism—the unity and indivisibility of the African continent. For whatever reasons, the anti-colonial leadership of the 1950's and the 1960's accepted the definitions of territorial independence based on the boundaries of the former colonial administrators. Unfortunately, the boundaries of African states once these territories became independent were inviolate and petrified. This petrification makes very difficult all talk of a serious African union.

According to this view, anti-colonialist struggles emerged in an historical vacuum and outside a world context: The shrinkage and general crisis of capitalism, the rise of the world socialist system and the interconnection between it and the acceleration of the world revolutionary process had no bearing on attainment of independence—which was merely “negotiated.” To put it another way, in Cox's opinion neither the long struggles of the African peoples nor the world struggles for class and national liberation had any bearing on imperialism's entrance into varied forms of negotiation in Africa. And since the outcome in each situation has not yet been fully resolved in the people's interest, Cox implies the struggle has been fruitless and should be abandoned—instead of pressing on and on against neo-colonialist penetration.

When Cox asserts, “Unfortunately, the boundaries of African states once these territories became independent were inviolate and petrified,” he is ignoring the harshest realities: Since when has U.S. imperialism—from Vietnam to Angola—regarded a national boundary as “inviolate”? So far as imperialism is concerned, national independence is never “petrified.” What monopoly seeks to “petrify” in both

Africa and the United States is a condition of ever-increasing oppression and exploitation.

In Cox's view the “petrification” of national boundaries “makes very difficult all talk of a serious African union.” *But any form of “African union” not based on state sovereignty and anti-imperialism could occur only within a framework of accommodation to neo-colonialism.*

Those who uphold the right of state sovereignty have not “reneged on the cardinal principle of Pan-Africanism.” On the contrary, those who counterpose African “unification” to the struggle for the right to national self-determination have “reneged” on Dr. Du Bois's anti-imperialist concept of Pan-Africanism.

“The Primacy of Peoples”

In counterposing the fallacious concept of a single African people to the right of self-determination and independent statehood, Cox takes a position diametrically opposed to that of such an anti-imperialist leader as President Sekou Touré of Guinea. Yet he quotes from Touré's speech to the Sixth Congress in an attempt to convey the impression that he and Touré share the same ideas.

Touré stated:

Since revolutionary Pan-Africanism basically refers to an Africa of *Peoples* it is in its interest to uphold the *primacy of Peoples* as against states. States, when they are of the Peoples, constitute the instrument for carrying out the will and decisions of the People, but when they are of the exploiting classes they constitute the instrument for carrying out decisions against the People; and we cannot but observe that the States in the area covered by Pan-Africanism are far from being those of the People or being faithful to the People. (Ibid. Emphasis added—H.W.)

To accurately interpret Touré's remarks, one must first take note of his *plural* references—i.e., to *states* and *peoples*. For a revolutionary Pan-Africanist to use singular references in this context would, of course, be out of the question—since the fiction of a single African people originated in the racist myth that recognizes variations in peoples with white skin but not in those with Black skin. Today this myth serves as the rationale for imperialism's denial of the right to self-determination for African peoples. To deny plurality in Africa contradicts the right to self-determination and anti-imperialist struggle, which are indivisible.

President Touré's own record contradicts the fiction of a single

people on the African continent; from his role in upholding Guinea's right to independent statehood and a socialist orientation to his support to independence for the new People's Republic of Angola, which emerged from the MPLA's fifteen-year war against Portuguese colonialism.

Touré points out that the "primacy of peoples" creates states of a progressive character. When the people have "primacy" the state acts as "the instrument for carrying out the will and decisions of the People"—using independence as the basis for economic and social salvation.

Cox, however, sees only the negative aspects in the development of African states—as in Sekou Touré's comment that "States in the area covered by Pan-Africanism are far from being those of the People or being faithful to the People."

It is certainly true that in Zaire, for example, where the exploiting strata are in control, the state is an instrument of collusion with neo-colonialism against the people of Zaire, of Angola and all of Africa. On the other hand, states such as Sekou Touré's Guinea are "in the area covered by Pan-Africanism"—and their role is the opposite of Zaire's.

Those who use "Pan-Africanism" to oppose the existence of forty-three newly independent states are a strange echo of the neo-colonialists' nostalgia for a past *without* independent African states. Of course, the imperialists recognize that a return to the days of classical colonialism is impossible. Today their strategy for expanding control over the African peoples and their resources has two central aspects: On the one hand, they buttress white minority rule in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. At the same time they try to subvert states where formal independence has been won by supporting the Robertos, Mobutus and Savimbis while simultaneously trying to crush all anti-imperialist states and movements.

To denigrate the right to self-determination and independent statehood is to assist imperialism in carrying out this strategy and therefore to delay instead of advance the ultimate unity of the African peoples. Progress toward continental unity can be made only to the extent that each state becomes an instrument for internal social advance and for *joint* anti-imperialist action with other African states and peoples.

The path toward ultimate African unity begins with the struggle to exercise the right of self-determination and continues to higher and higher levels of *joint* action, including economic, cultural and political interchange. This is the historic path for Pan-Africanism as visualized by Du Bois, and corresponds to the Marxist-Leninist concept of national liberation within the world revolutionary process. This process can

develop only if the primacy of class struggle in each African country is achieved—the guarantee of a correct direction for the anti-colonial struggles. It is through such a historic process that all survivals of antagonistic conflicts will eventually disappear within each country and in relations between countries.

Cox's concept, however, is not based on the primacy of the class struggle to attain class, national and colonial liberation as the prerequisite for African unity. On the contrary, he projects a "Pan-Africanism" that is in actuality an anarchist form of class collaborationism—a concept that rejects the right to self-determination and in effect opposes waging the national and international anti-imperialist struggles without which the sovereignty and development of African countries and their ultimate continental unity cannot be achieved.

"African, Afro-American Connection"

The contradiction between anti-imperialist Pan-Africanism and the views put forth by Cox not only is expressed in his counterposing of "African unity" to self-determination, but also is revealed in his revival of George Padmore's neo-Pan-Africanism with its orientation toward a special connection with the West.

While Padmore sought such a connection via British imperialism, the logic of Cox's views leads toward a "Pan-Africanism" dependent upon a special connection with U.S. imperialism. Such a direction is inherent in his remarks on Pan-Africanism and the relations between Africans and Afro-Americans:

... [it is] difficult for an Afro-American to discern who or what speaks for Africa. Is it Mobutu or Zaire promoting the Ali-Foreman fight, is it Idi Amin with his bombast from Uganda, is it Tanzania and Ujama, is it Zambia and Humanism, is it the Negritude of Senhor?

As a result of the great diversity within the Afro-American community and its many diverse perceptions of Africa, the African-American political and organizational segments are continuously choosing which independent African and Caribbean state with which they will associate. At the same time, African states will continue to choose that segment of the Afro-American community which most closely serves its interests.

This selective African and Afro-American connection will reflect the Pan-African movement for the next decade.

Unfortunately, Cox does not reveal the *real* choice—which is not between this or that African government or one or another “segment” of Afro-Americans. Only one choice “closely serves” the interests of the masses of Africans and Afro-Americans: anti-imperialist policies.

It is not a question of numerous “connections” presumably available to the exploited and oppressed in Africa and the United States. The only meaningful “connection” is with strategies that advance the struggle against neo-colonialism in Africa and monopoly in the United States. But Cox’s open-ended concept of “connections” would open the door to a “connection” with imperialism instead of united struggle against it.

Continuing, Cox states:

The leadership of Africa sees the Afro-American—by comparison to the rest of the African world—as well educated. Especially important to Africa is the technical and scientific education available to the African in America. Although we have no access to natural resources, as a community we have a \$25–30 billion annual cash flow. At least theoretically the political leadership of the Afro-American community can influence the most powerful government in the world. The efforts of the political leadership may mean millions of dollars for the Sahel, or food through the P.L. 480 program, or a sizeable contribution to the African development bank. The concerns of someone like Congressman Charles Diggs give African interests whatever small visibility it has in America’s centers of legislative power.

The African connection with the Afro-American community cuts across ideological lines. For varying reasons, both the capitalist oriented and the socialist oriented African countries will want the technical know-how and political influence of the Afro-American community.

One must ask: In what way would this kind of “connection” with Africa advance the “political influence of the Afro-American community” in support of the struggle against neo-colonialism? How would it help each African state become master of its own resources and future? After all, when one speaks of the “annual cash flow” of the Afro-American community, one is not talking about an anti-imperialist connection with African struggle. To speak in this way is to favor bargaining with U.S. imperialism for “enlightened” policies in Africa, serviced by an elite cadre of Afro-American careerists and technicians.

According to Cox:

Before the independence of African and Caribbean states, Pan-Africanism was a political movement of concerned individuals, trade

union representatives, and political and social leaders. People from both sides of the Atlantic met each other as equals without the imposition of the political and economic needs of any individual government.

But today, genuine reciprocity between Africans and Afro-Americans cannot be based on the relationships of pre-independence days. The existence of independent African states has transformed the anti-imperialist Pan-African connection between Africans and Afro-Americans. To suggest that “People from both sides of the Atlantic” should meet as equals without the imposition of the political and economic needs of any individual government” is to evade the anti-colonial struggle for the “political and economic needs” of every one of the African peoples. Such a position can only assist U.S. imperialism in its search for new forms to maintain “the imposition of the political and economic needs” of the transnational corporations in Africa.

Of course, the “African connection with the Afro-American community cuts across ideological lines” in the sense of solidarity against a common imperialist enemy. But this does not mean that either individual Afro-Americans or Afro-American groups should expect to play an “equal” rather than supportive role on the African continent.

Cox, however, advocates for Afro-Americans equal “representation within continental African organizations, especially the OAU.”

Such a demand coming from the United States must inevitably be looked upon with suspicion by Africans—who can only interpret it as a reflection of U.S. imperialism’s denial of the sovereignty of African states. It is particularly dangerous to make such a demand at a time when the U.S. imperialists are trying to involve the Afro-American bourgeoisie in carrying out their neo-colonialist aims. Instead of advancing such concepts, Black progressives should do everything possible to influence the Black bourgeoisie to move in unity with the liberation struggles at home and in Africa.

Maoism vs. the People

To bolster their opposition to majority positions at the Sixth Pan-African Congress, Courtland Cox and Lerone Bennett summon up backing from many sources even including, in Bennett's case, Mao Tse-tung.

Leading into his rejection of basic aspects of the majority's anti-imperialist positions, Bennett reports in *Ebony*, September 1974, on the views of a prominent member of the majority, Marcelino dos Santos, vice-president of the Mozambique Liberation Front and head of its delegation. Bennett states:

... like Touré, [dos Santos] came down hard on racialism. . . . The Pan-African movement was called on, he said, to transform itself into a revolutionary force based on the struggles of all oppressed peoples. (Bennett, "Pan-Africanism at the Crossroads")

Bennett adds, "This same general line was pressed by other delegations, most notably Congo Republic and Somali." For example, reports Bennett, Ahmed Abid Hashi, Permanent Secretary of the Somali delegations, rejected the idea of establishing a "black fraternity," stating:

The objective for any call for the establishment of a black fraternity is to confuse the issue, divert us from our real targets—elimination of colonialism, imperialism and racialism.

Commenting on this view, Bennett says:

Coming to close grips with key proposals of the North American delegation, [Ahmed Abid Hashi] opposed the creation of Pan-African institutions.

It was the opinion of his delegation that there were attempts by some "internal and external forces to paralyze the OAU and establish a rival organization which can serve their interests more promptly and expeditiously," and he urged the Congress to "reject these dark forces."

Countering the Somali position, Bennett says:

The OAU plot apart, there was some truth in all this. There was a need for someone to warn black people against the dangers of racism, although the progressives seemed to forget that there were still two or three *white* racists in the world. There was also a need for someone to blow the whistle on black exploiters and neo-colonialists, although the progressives seemed to forget Mao's excellent dictum that there is a fundamental distinction between contradictions among the people and contradictions between the people and the enemies of the peoples. (Emphasis in the original.)

Events have, of course, already caught up with Bennett's dismissal ("The OAU plot apart") of the majority fears about the "key proposals" of certain North American delegates. The Congress majority saw these proposals as a diversion from the "real targets—elimination of colonialism, imperialism and racialism." In the majority view, these "key proposals" threatened the struggle to strengthen the united front against neo-colonialism within each independent state and liberation movement and between the OAU member states. Events in Angola have proved their fears only too well justified—with U.S. and world imperialism, abetted by the exploiting strata in the OAU, trying to turn the OAU into an instrument of support for the intervention.

It is not the progressive majority but Bennett who seems "to forget" that Africans are confronted by something more than "two or three white racists in the world." As the Somali delegate pointed out, the struggles on the African continent call not for an abstract, "classless" "black fraternity" but for an anti-imperialist "fraternity" of the Black majorities. To rationalize his opposition to such anti-imperialist unity, Bennett turns to what he calls the "excellent dictum" of Mao. Of course, there is a "fundamental distinction between contradictions among the people and contradictions between the people and the enemies of the people" but Maoism confuses this distinction, which can be explained only by a *class* analysis.

At the Congress the task of confusing this "fundamental distinc-

tion" was undertaken by Imamu Baraka, whom Bennett characterizes as an adherent of "scientific socialism"—but whose remarks he does not quote. Baraka said:

The most progressive leaders of Africa, from Mualimu Nyerere to Jonas Savimbi, understand that the national liberation struggle is directly related to the transformation of the political consciousness of the struggling people themselves. As Chairman Mao has said, a remolding of world view.

Baraka—guided not by the principles of scientific socialism but by the "thought of Mao"—obliterates the "fundamental distinction" between Nyerere's anti-imperialist and Savimbi's pro-imperialist role. According to this Maoist "remolding" of a Marxist-Leninist principle, the fact that both Savimbi and Nyerere have black skins eliminates any *class* contradictions between them.

But even as Baraka was speaking, Nyerere and most other delegates were aware that Jonas Savimbi's relationship to the peoples of Africa did not represent "contradictions among the people" but rather, "contradictions between the people and the enemies of the people."

By that time the MPLA, with the solidarity of Portuguese progressives and democratic forces, had defeated Portuguese colonialism. And Savimbi and Holden Roberto were already adjusting their tactics, preparing to continue their intervention against the Angolan people with the support of the white U.S. imperialists, their white NATO allies, the white apartheid rulers of South Africa and the non-white Maoist Chinese.

The Maoists' revision of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the fundamental distinction between contradictions among the people and those between the people and their enemies became the ideological rationale for their joining with Vorster, Ford, Kissinger and Moynihan in labeling Soviet and Cuban solidarity with Angola as "intervention."

As African and world protest mounted against the military intervention in Angola by the United States, Maoist China and fascist South Africa, the Maoists hastily revised their tactics—but not their strategy. According to the Maoists, events in Angola were not the result of a contradiction between the people, led by the MPLA, and the imperialists, assisted by the Savimbis and Robertos. Instead, the Maoists, together with their imperialist allies, began to proclaim that the contradiction between the MPLA and its opponents was simply a contradiction among the Angolan people!

Thus, the Maoist theory of contradictions serves the imperialists' strategy, which is two-pronged: On one hand, this strategy calls for

destruction of the People's Republic of Angola by outright military means. But if this cannot be achieved, attempts will be made to force the MPLA to enter a "coalition,"—a "black fraternity"—with the accomplices of imperialism.

This "coalition" strategy is disguised by Maoism's theory on contradictions that portrays Soviet solidarity with Angolan liberation as a "contradiction" between the "Soviet enemy" and the people while presenting the fundamental contradiction between the MPLA and the formations headed by Roberto and Savimbi, and supported by the United States, South Africa and Maoist China, as one of the "contradictions among the people." This presumably minor contradiction would be "resolved," according to the Maoists, by the imperialist-imposed "coalition."

Friends and Enemies

That Mao's theory of contradictions allows for a reverse designation of Angola's friends and enemies has been confirmed even in the pages of *The New York Times*. On January 4, 1976, a *Times* article quoted a church leader in Kenya as follows:

"The issue, put simply," said the leader of an international African Christian church group, "is that the Soviets have had a historical involvement with the African liberation struggles against the Portuguese, while the United States was on the other side."

The article continued:

"Until Nov. 11 when the Portuguese left, the Soviets were allies in the liberation struggle," the minister said. "Now suddenly the West perceives them as interventionists. For Africans, whose only common ground is the commitment to the liberation of Africa, this is hard to accept."

In the same issue, the *Times* also reported that

... an editorial in *The New Nigerian*, an official paper published in Kaduna ... asserted that Daniel P. Moynihan, the chief United States representative at the United Nations, says American policy coincides with South Africa's on Angola. "It is hard to imagine a more damaging revelation," the [editorial] went on ... "We cannot stand idly by and see a sister country destroyed by a combination of Vorster and Moynihan."

The enemy "combination" in Angola includes, of course, another partner—the Maoists, whose theory of contradictions permits them to keep such company.

Mao himself inadvertently reveals the bourgeois nationalist roots of his theory when he states:

The contradictions between *ourselves* and the enemy are antagonistic contradictions. Within the ranks of the people, the contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic, while those between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a *non-antagonistic aspect* in addition to an *antagonistic aspect*.

Continuing, Mao says:

In our country, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie belongs to the category of contradictions among the people. By and large, the class struggle between the two is a class struggle within the ranks of the people, because the Chinese national bourgeoisie has a *dual* character. (*On The Correct Handling Of Contradictions Among The People*, by Mao Tse-tung. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, pp. 2-3. Emphasis added—H.W.)

In speaking of the "contradictions between *ourselves* and the enemy," Mao violates the *class* essence of scientific socialism. "Ourselves" is not a class, but a subjective, arbitrary designation. By substituting "ourselves" for class as the source of antagonistic contradictions, Mao also opens the way for an equally subjective, arbitrary definition of the "enemy."

According to Mao, the roots of antagonistic contradictions are not to be found in the capitalist mode of production. In Mao's view, contradictions do not arise in class struggle and between imperialism and anti-imperialism but rather have their source in the motivation of those whom he describes as "ourselves" and the "enemy." Thus, Mao's theory on contradictions reveals not the source of antagonisms but the source of Maoism's designation of the Soviet Union as the "enemy," while the Maoists enter into alliance with the neo-colonialist enemies of the people.

When Mao asserts that the contradictions "between the exploited and the exploiting classes have a *non-antagonistic aspect* in addition to an antagonistic aspect," he reveals the theoretical premise for Maoism's bourgeois nationalist and great-power chauvinist positions. To make such a claim about the relations between exploited and exploiting classes is a right opportunist revision of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the dual nature of exploiting classes and strata within oppressed nations and peoples. Antagonistic contradictions are inherent in the relations between exploiter and exploited.

At the same time, one must recognize that some sections of the national exploiting strata will accept alliances with the revolutionary

democratic forces against neo-colonialism. Such alliances can serve the cause of the exploited, but only if the revolutionary forces remain ever alert to the fact that the exploiting strata never surrender a single "aspect" of their fundamental aims, which even within the democratic alliance remain antagonistic to the people's aims.

Therefore, the Maoist theory of the "non-antagonistic aspect" in the contradictions between exploited and exploiters disguises the *antagonistic* contradictions between the aims of exploiters and exploited in the liberation struggle. This theory is rejected by revolutionary democrats because it would disarm the masses and put the leadership of their fight into the hands of such representatives of the exploiting strata as Savimbi, Roberto and Mobutu.

Mao's theory of the "non-antagonistic aspect" in the relations between exploited and exploiter is designed to provide a "revolutionary" justification for forming alliances with exploiting strata throughout the capitalist world in order to pursue Chinese great-power aims. At first the Maoists were more guarded in handling these alliances—entering into them openly in the main only with exploiting strata in the "third world." Of late, however, the logic of Mao's revision of the nature of class contradictions has brought China into more and more open alliances with monopoly from Washington and Bonn to Tokyo and Johannesburg, as well as with the exploiting strata in Chile and other parts of the "third world." And every "aspect" of the Angolan events testifies to the counter-revolutionary nature of this Maoist theory.

Baraka Versus Congressional Black Caucus

The record of Imamu Amiri Baraka testifies to the impossibility of pursuing a wrong strategy in Africa and a correct one at home.

In Africa, Baraka, guided by Mao's theory on contradictions, joins with U.S. imperialism and apartheid South Africa in demanding replacement of the anti-imperialist government of the People's Republic of Angola by a "coalition" controlled by the accomplices of neo-colonialism.

At home, however, Baraka opposes all forms of struggle leading to a *real* coalition—a people's alternative to monopoly. For instance, coinciding with his support to the imperialist and/or Maoist offensive against Angola, Baraka has launched an offensive against the more than 3,000 Black elected officials in the United States—in particular, against the Congressional Black Caucus. Of this caucus, Baraka—guided again by Mao's "theory" on contradictions—writes:

... these questionable patriots belong to political parties that feature George Wallace & Eastland on one hand or Ronald Reagan and Nelson Rockefeller on the other, and these *petit bourgeois* Black elected officials are not resigning from these parties because of those fascists. (Imamu Baraka, "Statement on the National Black Assembly," *Black World*, October 1975)

Ironically, Baraka does not call for a campaign to get rid of the fascists—but attacks the anti-fascists because "they are not resigning" from an arena of struggle! In favoring the resignation of Black elected officials, Baraka parallels the racist view that Blacks are incapable of taking part in government.

What Baraka is urging as "revolutionary" is no less than the liquidation of the most advanced group of elected officials in the country, a vitally needed voice for expressing the interests of the oppressed and exploited. In urging the elimination of anti-fascists instead of fascists, Baraka is, for example, directing his fire against such a congressman as John Conyers, Jr.

In contrast to Baraka, Conyers calls upon the masses to "translate the central issue of chronic, massive unemployment into the thrust of a people's movement." Writing in *The Black Scholar*, October 1975, Conyers goes on to state:

In fact the struggle that began with abolition and that was carried on in the name of civil rights ought now to proceed under the larger banner of a movement for economic justice.

... The notion that international events and our role in the world are extraneous to the struggle for justice in the United States is no longer open to serious debate. ... American assistance to anti-communists of every stripe and our continuing support for repressive governments abroad, which undermine the genuine struggle for the liberation of oppressed peoples, is in actuality an international extension of racism and oppression practised in this country. (John Conyers, "Toward Black Political Empowerment: Can the System Be Transformed?" *The Black Scholar*, October 1975)

Of course, Black people have not joined with Baraka in urging the resignation of Conyers and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus!

On the other hand, the members of the National Black Assembly (NBA) have forced Baraka's resignation from that organization. According to Baraka, his resignation was brought about by "anti-communist" opposition to his policies. No doubt there are those in the NBA with

misconceptions about Communists, but the real clue to the opposition to Baraka can be found in Conyers's warning about "anti-communists of every stripe."

When Conyers spoke of "American assistance to anti-communists of every stripe," he was referring to the international scene but was also showing the negative relationship between this country's international role and "the struggle for justice in the United States." Both at home and abroad monopoly assists those who impede "the struggle for justice." And this assistance includes a media buildup for "anti-communists of every stripe" particularly for those who caricature Marxist-Leninist principles while calling themselves "revolutionary communists."

During the 1960s, Baraka pursued an undisguised bourgeois nationalist, anti-Communist course. Today, behind the Maoist rhetoric of a "revolutionary communist," he clashes with the anti-imperialist course of the African liberation movements and the anti-monopoly direction of the Black liberation movement.

Baraka's forced resignation from the NBA is an indication not of anti-Communism but of growing opposition to Maoist-influenced policies. This development in the NBA parallels what has occurred in Africa during and since the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Both the African and Afro-American liberation movements are increasingly repudiating Maoist and all other forms of accommodation to racism and repression.

Baraka's accommodation to racism can be seen, for instance, in the fact that—while he speaks and writes continually about Black people—he does not advance a program for a special anti-racist struggle. Baraka calls himself a "revolutionary communist"—implying he is more "revolutionary" than members of the Communist Party, who are identified simply as Communists. In reality, Baraka separates himself from the Communist Party by rejecting Marxist-Leninist principles which place the main responsibility for anti-racist struggle on the white component of the multi-racial working class, the prerequisite for forging a coalition of the oppressed and exploited. By ignoring this special responsibility of white workers, Baraka in effect leaves it to the Black minority. While indulging at times in abstractions about the working class, Baraka does not acknowledge the necessity for *class* unity in confronting the common enemy.

In his *Black World* article in October 1975, Baraka calls for "a new economic, political and social system." But the policies he promotes contradict the struggle for even the most minimum alternatives to monopoly's thrust against the crucial needs of the masses, especially those of the Black and other oppressed minorities. For instance, as the

crisis of capitalism deepens and monopoly turns toward increasingly reactionary policies—carrying within them the threat of fascism—Baraka urges "go-it-alone" policies on the Black liberation movement. He asserted that

... the NBA should run a Black presidential candidate, an entire slate actually, hooked up to state and local candidates, in 1976, that would be anti-Democrat, anti-Republican. A popular front campaign that would raise the urgent needs of the people as its platform.

On one hand, Baraka denounces Black officials who "are not resigning" from the posts to which masses elected them. On the other hand, he says the NBA should by itself run "an entire slate" which he refers to as a "popular front campaign"! These two proposals collide head-on with the advances already made toward a mass anti-monopoly electoral formation.

Whatever the variations in the records of its individual members, the Congressional Black Caucus is, as we have noted, by far the most progressive elected force on the national scene. Its potential for still greater independence will not be realized by the wholesale resignation of its members from the Democratic or Republican Party. The Congressional Black Caucus will contribute to the formation of an independent electoral alternative to the degree that it responds to mass struggles for jobs, housing, education and medical care—for a budget for people instead of war.

Representative Conyers advances this fight when he asserts, "the struggle that began with abolition and that was carried on in the name of civil rights ought now to proceed under the much larger banner of a movement for economic justice." (Conyers, op. cit.)

Baraka, on the other hand, speaks abstractly of a "popular front campaign that would raise the urgent needs of the people as its platform." But when he becomes specific about this "platform," he calls for a campaign that "would build a broad united front around an alternative to bourgeois ideology."

No struggle for liberation can be waged on a platform of "ideology," but only around a specific program to meet the people's critical needs. Baraka's call for an "alternative to bourgeois ideology" is ironic: The "alternative to bourgeois ideology" is Marxism-Leninism. But Baraka discards the Leninist concept of the united front which aims to unite individuals, classes and strata of *varying* ideologies around a common program. This, and this alone, is the basis for a "broad united front." Baraka's concept of a "united front" at home is every bit as helpful to monopoly as his support to the "united front" with neo-colonialism in Angola.

Obviously, a glaring contradiction exists between Baraka's "united front" rhetoric and his sweeping attacks on Black elected officials for "not resigning" from the Democratic and Republican Parties. What Baraka demands is that Black officials disregard the mandate of the Black and non-Black voters who elected them instead of helping to advance the struggle for the people's needs together with forces independent of the two old parties. Thus, Baraka's policies would undermine the emerging base for anti-monopoly candidates outside as well as inside the two old parties.

In the same article in which he attacks the Congressional Black Caucus, Baraka calls for "socialist revolution." In other words, for Baraka the slogan of "socialist revolution" not only replaces the struggle for the people's immediate needs but the struggle for socialism as well, since the fight for socialism can be advanced only if linked with the fight against the monopoly-imposed crisis of daily existence.

To speak, as Baraka does, in abstract "anti-capitalist" terms—without advancing anti-monopoly policies—is to be pro-capitalist and anti-socialist. To speak in "anti-capitalist" abstractions is to place small business on the same footing as the transnational corporations, thus covering up the role of those sectors of the capitalist class that control the nation's economy and are the source of oppression at home and neo-colonialism abroad.

To be anti-capitalist in the Marxist-Leninist sense is to understand that the oppressed and exploited strengthen their unity, and progress toward more advanced goals, through step-by-step struggles. Policies and demands must be based on the issues confronting the masses, their level of consciousness and degree of readiness to unite around a particular issue. Slogans must be geared to mobilizing the people: Slogans that fail to involve them in struggle around their crucial needs are worse than meaningless, since they leave the masses disunited in the face of monopoly's onslaughts.

As an example of why an anti-monopoly strategy rather than abstract "anti-capitalist" rhetoric is the basis for a broad people's coalition, let's look at the role of Congressman Charles Diggs. Diggs is a member of the Black bourgeoisie. But there are no Black monopolists, and the Black bourgeoisie as a whole is repressed by the monopoly ruling class. Diggs is playing a democratic role, fighting against U.S. monopoly's neo-colonialist operations internationally and its racism and repression at home. Of course, one would like Diggs to take still more advanced positions. But both the Communist Party and Congressman Diggs are interested in Angola's independence. We applaud the fight Diggs has waged on this issue—while at the same time we strive

for greater consistency in the struggle to defeat all forms of neo-colonialist intervention in Africa, including the Maoist "coalition" formula for saddling the Angolan people with the puppets of U.S. and world imperialism and apartheid South Africa.

Further, to adopt Baraka's "anti-capitalist" rhetoric is to place oneself—as Baraka does—in opposition to such a congressman as Conyers. Representative Conyers does not put forth "anti-capitalist" slogans. But he courageously struggles for jobs and the other needs of the people as a whole, while simultaneously fighting for the special needs of the Black and other oppressed minorities. Such struggles are directed against monopoly, and this is why the role of Conyers and the Congressional Black Caucus helps speed formation of an independent alternative to monopoly rule at home and neo-colonialism abroad. To take over Baraka's "anti-capitalist" proposals would be to turn one's back on the anti-monopoly policies of Conyers and other Congressional Black Caucus members.

Baraka, of course, conceals his opposition to anti-monopoly coalitions with "super-revolutionary" policies. He is against entering into coalitions with "petit bourgeois Black elected officials"—and labels anyone in or out of the two old parties who disagrees with him as "petit bourgeois" or "revisionist." Baraka rejects the principle of a united front around immediate issues, leading to an anti-monopoly coalition. To the idea of coalition he counterposes a more advanced form—the "popular front." In this respect, it is instructive to recall that where a popular front exists—as it did in Chile—it meets with the opposition of all varieties of Maoists.

To liquidate the Congressional Black Caucus, as Baraka demands, would leave the field wide open to the Wallaces, Eastlands, Reagans and Rockefellers—just as Maoist policies in Angola would liquidate the liberation struggles and leave the country and its people to neo-colonialism. Baraka, however, has "super-revolutionary" reasons for his advocacy of Maoist policies internationally as well as at home. For instance, in *The Black Scholar*, October 1975, he speaks of

... Lenin's conclusions of the theory of proletarian revolution that imperialist wars could not be averted, but that these would be fuel themselves for revolution. (Imamu Baraka, "Needed: A Revolutionary Strategy," *The Black Scholar*, October 1975)

But these "conclusions" are not Lenin's; they are Mao's—and Baraka repeats them almost word for word. To claim that "imperialist wars cannot be averted" is to instill passivity in the face of imperialist aggression in Angola and to undermine the struggle against war

throughout the world. This, of course, is the aim of the Maoist strategy, which would "fuel" nuclear war between the Soviet Union and the United States. In other words, what Maoism tries to "fuel" is not revolution but imperialist counter-revolution and intervention against the African liberation movements—and eventual worldwide nuclear disaster.

For Baraka to take up the Maoist claim that "imperialist wars cannot be averted" is further proof his policies run counter to the central reality of class struggle in the United States, which calls for a fight against the military budget that robs the working people, especially the oppressed minorities, of jobs and bread. To withhold support to the struggle against the military budget—behind the allegation that imperialist wars "fuel" revolution—is to surrender to monopoly's "fueling" of its counter-revolutionary global strategy and its offensive against the people at home.

A Treasonous Trinity

Whatever differences there are in form of action and rhetoric among Imamu Baraka, Roy Innis and Bayard Rustin, the essence of their policies is the same: They all serve U.S. monopoly's racist, anti-labor strategy at home and its neo-colonialist strategy in the "third world."

For example, any presumed distance between Baraka and Innis disappears if one recalls that Baraka preceded Innis as a recruiter for neo-colonialist policies when he tried to muster support for Jonas Savimbi, linked with the apartheid South African invasion of Angola. In other words, Baraka, the Maoist "super-revolutionary," and Innis, the right-wing advocate of "Black capitalism," are part of neo-colonialism's central strategy not only against Angola but the liberation movements throughout all of southern Africa. And, Bayard Rustin's special link is with imperialism's Mideastern and North African strategy.

"Insidious plot" and "sinister conspiracy" were the phrases used in the conservative N.Y. *Amsterdam News* to describe Rustin's attempts to pressure Blacks into support of U.S.-Zionist aggression in the Mideast. Robert S. Browne, in a column on January 24, 1976, expressed widespread Black opposition to these moves when he wrote:

... most insidious of all was the creation of a Black pressure group whose avowed purpose was to support Israel and whose actual program appeared to be to intimidate Africa.

This group, called Black Americans in Support of Israel Committee

(BASIC), chose as its first action to contact the African states and threaten them with withdrawal of U.S. aid if they did not support Israel at the United Nations.

Pointing out that "Bayard Rustin admits to being the director and spiritual father" of BASIC, Browne states:

... BASIC's threat has been implemented with a vengeance. Israel is thrilled, the Africans are to be further deprived, and American Blacks will be given the blame.

He then adds:

The time is long overdue for responsible Black leadership to speak out against this sinister conspiracy whose full extent has obviously not yet been revealed.

Black opposition to the monopoly policies promoted by Rustin—as well as Baraka and Innis—is being expressed in a variety of ways. For example, on February 14, 1976, 100 Black elected officials and Democratic district leaders denounced Moynihan and his "anti-Harlem" positions, warning that his rumored senatorial candidacy was "totally unacceptable."

Also "totally unacceptable," one must add, is the role of the treasonous trinity against Black liberation—Rustin, Baraka and Innis—each with a special part to play in the drive to impose racist, anti-labor Moynihanism on the oppressed and exploited in this Bicentennial year. While Rustin and Innis strive for Black surrender within the two major parties, Baraka aims at undermining the struggles—emerging both outside and within the two old parties—for an independent alternative to monopoly.

The Nature of the "White-Black Relationship"

The aspirations of Robert L. Allen, editor of *The Black Scholar*, are in direct conflict with the aims of Daniel P. Moynihan. Yet, in *Reluctant Reformers* by Robert Allen, with the collaboration of Pamela P. Allen, and in *Ethnicity* by Moynihan and Glazer, one finds a parallel treatment of the question of race and class.

Reluctant Reformers (Howard University Press, Washington, D.C., 1974)—subtitled "The Impact of Racism on American Social Reform Movements," and spanning the years from 1776 to the present—has a fundamental flaw: In attempting to portray the impact of racism on movements for social change, the author deemphasizes the impact of these multi-racial movements on this country's history. This in turn leads to deemphasizing the impact of Frederick Douglass, Karl Marx and W.E.B. Du Bois on past and present struggles against oppression and exploitation. Such a view of the movements for social change flows from a failure to recognize the objective laws of class struggle and the capitalist class as the source of racism and therefore results in a failure to differentiate among the changing class forces involved in these movements during different periods of this country's history.

As a result, the book's thrust is not directed toward overcoming racism's impact on the people's struggles; instead, it projects a defeatist estimate of the people's ability to struggle. This is apparent in the very concept of "reluctant reformers," which in itself implies an inverted form of voluntarism. Contrary to the "thought of Mao," history can neither be "pushed" nor "stopped" by the will of individuals or groups,

without regard to the specific mode of production in a given society and the contradictions that give rise to the struggle to resolve them.

The many-sided and historically changing forms of "reluctance"—whose core today consists of racism and anti-Communism—can retard but not halt the forward thrust of the multi-racial international working class, including its contingent in the United States: "Reluctance" could not stop the struggle leading to the "irresistible conflict" that abolished slavery, nor can "reluctance" halt the anti-monopoly struggle.

The source of Allen's defeatist attitude toward the anti-racist struggle and thus toward movements for social change as a whole, is revealed in the following:

Of course, if the locus of racism is white society, then one must conclude that some kind of basic change must be made in this society if racism is to be eliminated. This is not to suggest that white society is somehow monolithic or static; on the contrary, numerous strata and competing *interest* groups exist, and changes of greater or lesser extent are almost constantly occurring. (*Reluctant Reformers*, p. 5. Emphasis added—H.W.)

To speak of a "white society" fits in with the "two societies" concept projected in the sixties. This idea was promoted from both a "radical" and a "liberal" (via the "Kerner Report") standpoint, which portrayed Blacks as forming an internal colony in the United States. But Black people are discriminated against and suffer de facto segregation within the *single* U.S. capitalist economy. Both Black and white are locked into *one* society dominated by corporate monopoly. To imply the division of this country into two societies obscures its *real* division into two basic classes, the white monopolist minority and the multi-racial working class.

By situating the "locus of racism" in a generalized "white society," Allen in effect denies that racism originates in and is perpetuated by the *class* interests of monopoly. Via a theory of "interest groups," Allen attempts to back up his portrayal of the United States as a society dominated by "classless" whites instead of white monopoly capitalists. Although Allen asserts "white society" should not be regarded as "monolithic," he confirms that the term is without class meaning by defining it as consisting of "numerous strata and competing interest groups."

Further, to speak merely of "interest groups" is to fall within the orbit of Moynihan's "ethnicity" strategy, which denies the fundamental contradiction between monopoly and the multi-racial working class, the Black and other oppressed minorities and the majority of the population.

According to Moynihan, each "ethnic" group has its own demands, all presumably of equal importance, thus denying the special racist oppression of Blacks. And the logic of Allen's "interest group" concept also leads to a denial of class exploitation as the source of oppression of Black and other minorities.

Moynihan's ideology promotes the primacy of "ethnicity" while simultaneously suggesting that the primacy of race links all white "ethnic" groups against non-whites, who are depicted as a competitive threat. And the "interest groups" concept objectively reinforces this ideology: Allen as well as Moynihan denies that monopoly is the enemy of the multi-racial working class and the masses of the people.

According to both Moynihan and Allen, each "ethnic" or "interest group" has a stake only in its "own" particular interest which can presumably be advanced only in opposition to the needs of other "ethnic groups" and "interest groups." Such theories encourage Black and white to regard each other as the enemy; in particular, they influence white workers to accept racism—and even fight to maintain it.

What has happened in South Boston symbolizes the logic of these concepts: An "ethnic" group is made to feel deprived by the anti-racist struggle and thus white workers are misled into helping to forge the chains of their own impoverishment.

The "ethnicity" and "group interest" theories reverse reality for both Black and white, portraying the anti-racist struggle, not racism, as contradicting the interests of the white masses. It would be hard to think of a more effective way to advance the interests of racist monopoly!

Who Has A 'Stake' in Racism?

In his article on the Pan-African Congress, Lerone Bennett polemizes against Marxists and progressives who place anti-racist struggle at the core of the fight for anti-imperialist unity. In his book on social movements in the United States, Robert Allen polemizes against Marxists and progressives who see the need for combining the self-action of Blacks with working-class struggles in the anti-racist fight at home. In fact, he goes so far as to deny the basis for unity of the multi-racial working class—alleging that white workers have a "stake" in racism. Asserting that the Communist Party has had an "oversimplified view of racism, and the history of racial antagonism," he states:

If racism was simply a device used by the capitalist ruling class to divide the workers, then it followed that the workers have no material stake in the maintenance of racism. Once apprised of their

true interests the workers could be expected to join the forces opposing racism. Such has not yet been the case, as the history of the labor movement amply illustrates. Yet Communist writers insisted upon regarding the white working class as the bearer of true enlightenment and fraternity; at the very minimum they contended that only if the workers would accept Marxism-Leninism *then* racial antagonisms would fade away. (Allen, op. cit., p. 224. Emphasis in the original.)

In this statement Allen attempts to "settle" the race/class question by "establishing" the primacy of race: If white workers have a "material stake" in racism, it would mean there is no antagonistic contradiction between them and the white monopolists (that is, their stake would be in the color of their skin).

Of course, U.S. capitalism through all stages of its development has perpetuated inequality between Black and white masses. But in order to do so it has had to perpetuate the illusion, from slavery to the present, that the white exploited have a "material stake" in Black oppression. And the survivals of racist "advantages,"—originating in the slave system—still lend credibility to the racist-fostered illusion that white workers on the assembly lines and in the unemployed lines have a "material stake" in the different degree to which monopoly exploits them as compared to Black workers.

In reality, white as well as Black workers have a "material stake" in eradicating racism. To assert that white workers have a "material stake" in racism is to profoundly exaggerate monopoly's ability to sustain this illusion—particularly in the face of the deepening general crisis of capitalism. Such a concept is based on an overestimation of the strength of imperialism, and consequently an underestimation—in fact, a denial—of the intensifying contradiction between monopoly and the working class as a whole—Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and Native American Indian.

To argue that whites have a "material stake" in racism is to say that 180 million whites, the overwhelming majority, have no "material stake" in economic and social progress, which would mean there is no perspective for fundamental change.

The Black minority alone could not defeat the slave power. That was achieved via a strategy combining the interests of those forces and classes with a stake in victory over the slavocracy. And today the Black minority cannot by itself defeat the monopoly oppressors. What is required is not a go-it-alone policy for Blacks but an independent strategy for Black liberation as part of a wider anti-monopoly strategy—combining all those with a stake in the defeat of corporate

monopoly into a great people's coalition. And in the perspective for such a coalition, one cannot overlook the revolutionary implications of the proletarianization of the majority of the multi-racial masses.

If one says white workers have a "material stake" in racism, one implies they have a "material stake" in monopoly instead of its defeat. In other words, such a concept denies the common interest of Black and white workers in class unity and a broad anti-monopoly strategy. After all, one cannot expect people to fight against racism if they have a "material stake" in it. Thus, Allen's views would at best promote reliance on "gradualism"—tokenist reformism—the direct opposite of a perspective for ending the triple oppression of Blacks and other oppressed minorities.

In saying that white workers have a "material stake" in racism, Allen is not only denying the possibility of a mass alternative to monopoly. He is also denying the fundamental *class* contradiction between the monopoly ruling class and the working class, that is, he is denying the class struggle. In viewing racism as divorced from monopoly's *class* interests, he fails to see that racism contradicts the common stake all workers have in the class struggle against their common enemy. The concept of white workers having a "material stake" in racism is a non-struggle approach, contradicting the cause of Black liberation as well as the needs of all those seeking solutions to the crisis confronting them.

Of course, Communists would regard the infinitely complex anti-racist struggle as a very simple matter indeed if—as Allen alleges—they considered it merely a matter of "apprising" the white workers of "their true interests" in order for them to "join the forces opposing racism." Standing aside and waiting for the workers to "accept Marxism-Leninism" would, obviously, be helpful only to monopoly and its divide-and-rule strategy.

What is required to achieve class unity is a fight to wipe out every form of material and social inequality. And white workers have a heavy, special responsibility in this struggle because it is they who have been infected by racism and are consequently its "bearers" within the multi-racial working class. Marxism-Leninism is a guide to, not a substitute for, the anti-racist struggle and therefore a guide also to the "fraternity" of the working class. And as this struggle for class unity advances, "enlightenment" begins to replace racism in the minds of those who have been its "bearers." Further, the Communist Party is the only organization requiring, as a condition of membership, that whites accept and act in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principle of the special responsibility of white workers in the anti-racist struggle.

One must recognize that to dismiss this Marxist-Leninist approach is to leave the anti-racist struggle to Black people—which would make it a “go-it-alone” fight of the Black minority against a “white society” that includes both the white masses and the white corporate minority.

Illusion and Reality

To take the position that white workers have a “material stake” in sustaining instead of fighting against racist inequality is to support the monopolist enemy that perpetuates this illusion. To claim white workers have a “material stake” in maintaining inequalities between Black and white income—a view that fits in with the class collaborationist policies of the Meanys and their right social democratic supporters—is to say white workers have no stake in overcoming their own unemployment, their own diminishing quality of life and poverty.

It is decisive to recognize that neither the depressed levels for white workers nor the still more depressed levels of poverty and unemployment for Black workers can be effectively challenged without an intensifying struggle for unity of the multi-racial working class.

The situation of Black workers is graphically described in the NAACP's annual report, published in January 1976: “It is now clear that the slow and hard gains made by black wage earners during the past quarter of a century were fragile and temporary,” states the report's employment section, written by Herbert Hill, the association's National Labor Director.

Continuing, the report says:

In every category of measurement—unemployment rates, duration of joblessness, in earnings and in labor force entry of young workers—the black community is being forced back into patterns that were commonplace during the Great Depression of the 1930's.

While government figures place unemployment rates for whites at 7.6 percent and 14.1 percent for Blacks, the NAACP reports a “truer picture of 13.6 percent for whites and 25.5 for Blacks.” And in the 25 major areas of Black urban population, these figures rise to 30 percent for adults and 40 percent for teenagers. If these trends continue, the report asserts, “the black worker can never catch up to the white worker in this country.” The report adds:

Discrimination in employment is not the result of random acts of malevolence; it does not usually occur because of individual bigotry, but rather is the consequence of systematic institutionalized patterns that are rooted in the society.

There is no getting around the fact that the trends described in the NAACP report accentuate the urgency for unity of the multi-racial working class and for its participation in forging an independent political trend, the only alternative to the trend monopoly's two parties impose on the oppressed and exploited.

As part of the struggle for such an alternative, mutual trust and united action must be won between the various components of the multi-racial working class. And achieving these requisites is in the first place the obligation of white workers, who must support the fight against inequality in wages, conditions and opportunities. This is not a matter of abstract morality, but of working-class solidarity, whose source lies in recognition of the imperatives of class struggle. It is only in class unity that the fight for material conditions and quality of life for all workers—Black, white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and Native American Indian—can be advanced.

The white workers' illusion of their “material stake” in racist inequalities is given circumstantial credibility by the widening gap between themselves and Black workers in income and employment. This gap, which creates a contradiction within the working class, is a reality. But that white workers have a “material stake” in maintaining this capitalist-enforced contradiction is an illusion. Illusions have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, but they are reinforced by Maoism, which substitutes subjective opinions for realities in the class struggle.

Contrary to Mao's writings on “the correct handling of contradictions among the people,” the contradictions in the working class cannot be interpreted as antagonistic contradictions between class or racial enemies. To claim white workers have a “material stake” in inequality is to fuel monopoly's racist lie that an antagonistic contradiction exists between Black and white workers, which of course diverts the struggle from the antagonistic contradictions between the working class as a whole and monopoly.

The contradictions within the ranks of the working class and masses are of a totally different character from the antagonistic class contradiction between the working class and the monopoly capitalist class. The contradictions among the people are non-antagonistic and can be resolved by a strategy advancing the special struggle against racist division and inequality—a strategy recognizing that the interests of each component of the working class, and of the Black and other oppressed peoples, can be advanced only through a united struggle against the ruling class.

Monopoly ceaselessly generates racist ideology to—as Marx put

it—"deform" the class struggle. The essence of racist strategy is to create the illusion in the minds of both Black and white workers that the differential in their levels of existence does not arise from capitalism. Among whites, this strategy perpetuates the illusion that the Black people's inferior standard of living results from the inherent inferiority of people with dark skins. Among Blacks, this strategy creates the parallel illusion that racism is inherent in the white masses—not in monopoly control of the economy and government.

What "Shapes" Racism

The United States was born in anti-colonial struggle, and its present course of development is today in sharper contrast than ever to that of its birth. Today's racism and inequality mock this country's birth cries of "liberty" and "equality."

U.S. monopoly has made this country not only the internal center of racist oppression, but also the principal upholder of classical and neo-colonialist plunder in southern Africa. U.S. imperialism—which has apartheid South Africa as its military surrogate in Angola—is now recognized everywhere as the central mainstay of racism, reaction and repression at home and internationally.

Yet many white liberals are among those fostering the illusion that the inferior status of Blacks is determined not by the class interests of those controlling the system but by the difference in skin color. This view is expressed in typical form by Tom Wicker, associate editor of *The New York Times*, who asserts that "the instinctive white man's reaction to the color black sets the nature of the white-black relationship." (*A Time to Die*, Quadrangle-NYT Book Co., New York, 1975, p. 148)

Robert Allen comes very close to Wicker's view when, in his book, *Reluctant Reformers*, he asserts that racism has become a "social-psychological force, shaping and directing behavior, not merely reflecting it." (Allen, op. cit., p. 224)

Of course, it is true that behavior can be "shaped" by society. But scientific social analysis—Marxism-Leninism—shows that racist "behavior" is not "shaped" by "classless" psychological factors but by the monopoly ruling class.

Both Wicker and Allen are saying the source of racism lies in white reaction to "the color black." To take this position in any of its varieties is to deny that the "white-black relationship" is "set" by capitalism's material stake in racial dissension. Marx pointed this out when he said the exploiting class will do all in its power to "disfigure" the class

struggle by fomenting racial conflict. To claim the "white-black relationship" is determined by instinctive "social-psychological" responses—with an independent, self-perpetuating existence apart from the social system—is to take the ruling class off the hook for perpetuating this "disfigurement" of the working-class struggle.

Certainly, racism is a "social-psychological force" polluting the nation! But Allen—not just in one quote, but throughout his book—parallels Wicker's conception of the "white-black relationship" as unrelated to monopoly control of the dominant culture, whose core is racism.

Allen shifts responsibility for the source of racism from monopoly to white workers. He states, for example, that Communists see racism as "a device used by the capitalist class to divide the workers. . . ." By oversimplifying the Communist position—an ideology with all its ramifications cannot be termed a mere "device"—he can dismiss the ever-intensifying role the capitalist class has assigned racism in its economic, political, educational and cultural policies through each stage of its history. On the other hand, he makes every effort to reinforce the idea that white workers have a "material stake" in sustaining racism and in order to do so makes no distinction between the effect of illusion and reality in shaping white workers' attitudes.

When Allen argues that Communists fail to see racism as having its own, self-perpetuating "psychological" existence, he is advancing a Hegelian reversal of reality: Such a concept of racism conceals the fact that the dominant culture in a particular social system is inseparable from the class in power. This characteristic of Allen's concept is not altered by his frequent but abstract references to the capitalist system.

Under capitalism, the dominant culture does not originate with the class operating the means of production. This dominant culture is determined by the class that owns the means of production, and it is generated by the superstructure through which this class controls the state and its agencies, and the mass media.

Today, when racism is widely recognized as institutional, it seems strangely out-of-date to attribute to it either an independent existence or assert that it can be perpetuated outside of the rule of monopoly-controlled institutions.

Yet Allen's concept of racism oscillates between these two poles: at one end, he sees it as having an independent existence; at the other, he sees a source for it—the white workers' presumed "material stake" in racism. But racism does not originate apart from the social system itself, nor does it originate within the working class, neither at the point of

production nor in workers' homes. On the contrary, it is directed through the superstructure to the workers at the point of production, in their homes and in the schools they attended.

Allen's concepts of racism ignore the nature of the production of surplus value—the source of capitalist profit—which places the capitalist class's interest in racism in contradiction to the interests of the working class. It is the capitalist drive to maximize the unpaid and minimize the paid portions of the value produced by the working class that generates the class struggle. In this constantly spiraling, constantly intensifying struggle, only the monopolists have a material stake in racism (and they have never been known to be passive when their interests are at stake!).

Those who say white workers have a "material stake" in racism draw this conclusion from the premise that the interests of white capitalists and the white workers are identical.

The minuscule white corporate minority controlling the social means of production cannot compete with a *unified* working class. In this period of the general crisis and decline of capitalism, monopoly's power is only as great as the divisions in the working class—the result of racism and anti-Communism.

Allen's New Theory of "Ultra-Imperialism"

In a further attempt to bolster his thesis of a "material stake" for white workers in racism, Allen avails himself of a quotation from Lenin concerning oppressed nations and peoples as a source of superprofits for imperialism, part of which is used to create the basis for opportunism, of which racism and anti-Communism are the most divisive forms among sections of the workers in imperialist nations.

"Lenin warned that imperialism," Allen writes, tends to "create privileged sections . . . among the workers, and to detach them from the broad masses of the proletariat." (*Reluctant Reformers*, p. 211. Deletions in quote from Lenin are Allen's—H.W.)

From the quotation, Allen draws these conclusions:

Thus, the resulting racism and chauvinism among white workers were much more than mere diversionary tactics introduced by conniving capitalists to divide the world working class; on the contrary, these ideological manifestations were *firmly* grounded in the dynamics of imperialist development. Consequently, Lenin insisted that "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (*Ibid.*, p. 211. Emphasis added—H.W.)

The Nature of the "White-Black Relationship"

At first glance, Allen's conclusions may appear to have a "Marxist" ring. Closer examination, however, reveals them to be in conflict with a Marxist-Leninist analysis of both the "dynamics of imperialist development" and the scope of monopoly's social, economic and political strategy in class struggle at home and against the colonial liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere.

First, one must question Allen's understanding of the most elementary capitalist behavior: If the imperialists do not have an overwhelming "material stake" in carrying out "diversionary tactics" to "divide the world working class," why do they use part of their superprofits to bribe sections of the white workers? Why don't they just keep all of the superprofits for themselves?

Further, one cannot ignore, as Allen does, the role of the state in mobilizing material and ideological resources to bolster imperialism's unstable objective basis for "detaching" segments of the workers from unity with their class, that is, for atomizing the working class into "ethnic" and "interest groups," and for imposing racist, class-collaborationist policies on the labor movement.

Allen cites Lenin in a way to make it seem that Lenin's views and his own coincide on the question of opportunism. At the same time, however, Allen argues that racism has an independent existence apart from class, while Lenin regarded racism and all other forms of opportunism, including anti-Communism, as class weapons of the exploiters.

Allen sees all white workers as having a "material stake" in racism—but not the imperialists. This is a strange logic! Marxism-Leninism, however, polemizes not against the masses of workers but against the corruption of a privileged sector of the working class, and against the influence of racism, anti-Communism and all forms of opportunism wherever their poison spreads. Far from holding that white workers have a "material stake" in racism, Marxism-Leninism shows that racism is an obstacle to class unity and that white as well as Black workers have a "material stake" in removing this obstacle to progress.

Moreover, Allen not only argues that racism originates with the workers at the point of production instead of with the capitalist class and its drive for profits; he also insists that workers of an oppressor nation have a "material stake" in the oppression of other nations and colonies.

But Marx, Engels and Lenin revealed that the workers of an oppressor nation can win their liberation only if they recognize their stake in supporting the liberation struggles of every people oppressed by their "own" ruling class. This is why Marxist-Leninists recognize the

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struggle against opportunism—and racism and anti-Communism are its sharpest forms—as the pre-condition for the unity of the multi-racial U.S. working class and its allies at home and internationally.

Once when Lenin was asked what he would "add" to Marx, he replied that in the context of the imperialist stage of capitalism, he would apply the essence of Marxism in Marx's slogan "Workers of the World Unite" and the resulting slogan would then proclaim, "Workers and Oppressed Peoples of the World Unite." Unite against what? Lenin urges unity against imperialism. Therefore Lenin asserts that it is *not* the workers but the imperialists who have a stake in oppression.

Allen not only underestimates the scope of monopoly's investment in "diversionary tactics" at home but internationally as well: The neo-colonialists' use of superprofits to promote all varieties of opportunism—particularly outright betrayal—in "third world" countries is a central aspect of their strategy to uphold their far from "firmly grounded" positions. And U.S. imperialism's cultivation of national treason also includes the investment of tens of millions of dollars to carry out "diversionary tactics" in NATO countries, as recent events in Portugal and Italy attest.

A crass assertion of this strategy in regard to the "third world" took place in January 1976, when Moynihan announced—via the "leaking" of a cable to U.S. embassies—that the United States' "basic foreign policy goal" is "breaking up the massive blocs of nations, mostly new nations." Moynihan stated that U.S. "aid" would go to reward those who acquiesced to neo-colonialist policies, and would be denied to those who dared maintain their independence. Outlining how this economic and political warfare would be carried out against the OAU and "Group of 77" non-aligned countries, Moynihan declared that their "bloc-like unity" could not last because "maintaining solid ranks was simply too expensive for too many members." Shortly after the contents of this cable appeared on front pages throughout the world, Ford and Kissinger announced that Moynihan was enunciating official U.S. policy. After Moynihan's resignation, Ford reaffirmed his support of the racist policies proclaimed by Moynihan in the United Nations.

To give credence to his thesis that racism and chauvinism are "firmly grounded" in the "dynamics" of imperialism, Allen again calls upon Lenin. Allen writes: "Lenin insisted that 'the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism.'" (Ibid., p. 211)

Unfortunately, Allen takes Lenin's statement out of context, thus turning it against Leninism. If one reads what comes just before the comment Allen cites, one learns Lenin was polemizing against the

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"sham" and "humbug" of those who undermine the fight against opportunism by underestimating the contradictions within imperialism. In the preceding sentence Lenin pointed out that "the extraordinary rapidity and the particularly revolting character of the development of opportunism is by no means a guarantee that its victory will be durable." (V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, New York, International Publishers, 1939, p. 126. Emphasis added—H.W.)

In quoting Lenin out of context, Allen gives the impression Leninism upholds instead of contradicts the idea that white workers have a "material stake" in racism and chauvinism. Only if white workers had a "material stake" in racism and all forms of opportunism—instead of a "material stake" in the struggle against them—would it be possible to back up the claim that racism and chauvinism are "firmly grounded in the dynamics of imperialist development."

What Allen has developed is a theory of acceptance of—not struggle against—opportunism. In advancing such a thesis, he removes opportunism from the "dynamics" of the international class and anti-colonial liberation struggles—treating it as if it were immune to the impact of these sharpening battles. Further, he ignores the central contradiction between advancing socialism and declining capitalism, and the fact that the class, national and anti-colonial struggle merge in this era with the world transition to socialism.

In discussing imperialism in his polemics with Karl Kautsky, Lenin pointed out that a definition cannot "embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its full development." (Ibid., p. 89)

And when Allen asserts that opportunism is "firmly grounded" in the "dynamics of imperialist development," he is most certainly overlooking "the concatenations" of imperialism in its general crisis, which includes the anti-imperialist struggle and makes it infinitely less "firmly grounded" than at any time in its history. Allen's concept, in fact, resembles right social democratic views on imperialism against which Lenin waged an irreconcilable struggle. Specifically, the idea of a "firmly grounded" imperialism suggests a crypto-Kautskian concept of "ultra-imperialism" that, as Lenin wrote, "detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics." (Ibid., p. 92)

Kautsky and his followers, underestimating the contradictions of imperialism, failed to comprehend the political and social effects of the increasing unevenness in capitalist development. On the consequences of Kautsky's view, Lenin wrote:

Kautsky's theoretical critique of imperialism has nothing in common with Marxism and serves only as a preamble to propaganda for peace

and unity with the opportunists and the social-chauvinists, precisely for the reason that it evades and obscures the very profound and fundamental contradictions of imperialism. (Ibid., p. 117)

While Kautsky anticipated an era of "ultra-imperialism," Allen implies an era of ultra-neo-colonialism—emerging from a "firmly grounded" imperialism successfully extending its strategy against the "third world," the socialist countries and the working classes and oppressed peoples in the capitalist countries.

But present-day imperialism is even less "firmly grounded" than imperialism in Lenin's time; it is neither the enduring system conceived by Kautsky and his right social democratic followers, nor is it the "paper tiger" portrayed by the Maoist "left" face of social democracy—at a time when Maoism had not yet openly joined with right social democracy in attempting to uphold imperialism's unstable positions in Africa and throughout the world.

The Fallacy of the "Internal Colony"

We were honored to discover that Robert Allen makes the same ideological charges against Karl Marx as he makes against us, although in making his allegations he presents neither the views of Marx nor of the CPUSA, but only his misinterpretation of them. Of Marx, he writes:

He took note of the struggles of suppressed nationalities in Europe and Asia and he opposed black slavery because it threatened to degrade the white working class in America, but he never doubted the vanguard role of European workers in the expected revolution. (*Reluctant Reformers*, p. 209)

One must note that slavery not only "threatened to degrade" white workers, it *did* degrade them and their condition from the moment of its appearance! As for the claim that Marx opposed Black slavery *only* because of its effect on white workers: Allen obviously draws the conclusion Marx was indifferent to those who suffered the degradation of slavery itself from his statement that "Labor in a white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." (It should be remembered that Frederick Douglass proclaimed this same concept throughout his travels in North America and Europe!)

Marx placed the anti-slavery struggle as he did because it was not the Blacks but the *whites* who had to be convinced abolition was in their own interest. (Marx was not a forerunner of those white "radicals" of the sixties who stood on the sidelines exhorting Blacks to action against racism!) Far from being indifferent to the condition of Black slaves,

Marx knew that slavery could be ended only if whites moved together with Blacks against the slave power.

Reaction, of course, realized only too well that "labor in a white skin" had to be prevented from learning it could "never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." In 1877 reactionary forces, North and South, defeated Reconstruction. And in the 1890s, during the period of emerging imperialism, these forces "legalized" the restoration of institutional racism—doing everything possible to enforce the separation of white from Black in order to prevent labor in a white skin and labor in a black skin from emerging as a national force.

The Marxist principle of Black and white labor unity has always been at the core of Communist Party policy. In the 1930s, this unswerving approach helped create the greatest degree of white and Black unity in the history of U.S. labor, and consequently, the greatest advances for both Black and white workers. The class struggle policies of the thirties—which led to the organization of the great mass production industries and the rise of the CIO—gained momentum only to the extent this principle was fought for.

It was to break this advancing unity of the multi-racial working class that monopoly intensified anti-Communism, institutionalizing it alongside of racism. It was the massive linking of anti-Communism with racism that enabled monopoly to set back the advances of the thirties, replacing labor's class struggle policies with the racist class collaborationism of the Meanys and Shankers.

Today, the growing rank-and-file movement to break AFL-CIO officialdom's control gains impetus only to the extent it is guided by Marx's principle of unity between labor with a black skin and labor with a white skin—coupled with resistance to monopoly's twin divide-and-rule weapon of anti-Communism.

As for Allen's assertion that Marx "never doubted the vanguard role of European workers in the expected revolution": Marx did not expect European workers (or the workers of any other continent) to play the vanguard role in the "expected revolution"—since he did not envision one simultaneous world revolution. However, he certainly did expect the workers of *each* European country (and the workers of *each* country of *every* continent) to play the vanguard role in *their* country's revolution—which is only natural, since revolution cannot be exported from one country to another.

At the same time, Marx saw that a revolution in any country would stimulate revolutionary struggles in other countries. He also believed a successful revolution in one country was obligated to give political and material support to revolutionary struggles elsewhere. This principle

applies especially to the relations between the working class of a formerly oppressor nation and the nations that were oppressed by it. Application of this principle sealed the unity of the Russian working class with the many races and nationalities of the old Czarist empire.

Internationalist support to class and national liberation has been an integral part of Soviet policy since the October Revolution—expanding with the emergence of the socialist community. This solidarity has been extended to the Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. aggression, and to the Cubans in their struggle against U.S. domination and for their march into socialism. It has been present in every phase of the fight against Portuguese colonialism. And today the solidarity of the Soviet Union and Cuba behind the People's Republic of Angola is recognized by millions throughout the world.

But Soviet and Cuban solidarity does not mean that these countries attempt to place themselves in the "vanguard" of the Angolan liberation fight. Their role is supportive to the Angolan people's independence struggles. Only the revolutionary forces of Angola itself can be and are in the vanguard of that country's anti-colonial revolution.

Detente Versus "Rapprochement"

Unfortunately, in *Reluctant Reformers*, Robert Allen revives a shopworn assortment of slanders from monopoly's assorted stock of anti-Communist staples. It is, in fact, not only unfortunate but surprising that, at a time when Congressman John Conyers condemns "American assistance to anti-communists of every stripe" abroad, Robert Allen would echo "anti-communists of every stripe" at home.

In his revival of these slanders, Allen calls upon Theodore Draper, who was for many years associated with one of the most notorious centers of racism and neo-colonialism, the Hoover Institute. Allen quotes Draper as follows:

"... one thing has never changed—the relations of American communism to Soviet Russia. This relation has expressed itself in different ways. . . . But it has always been the determining factor, the essential element." (Quoted in *Reluctant Reformers*, pp. 219–20)

Allen then adds:

... for the American party the result of this commitment was a complete lack of independence and flexibility in achieving its avowed goal of building socialism in the U.S. (Ibid., p. 220)

The identity between Allen's views and those of this longtime associate of the Hoover Institute is so obvious it is almost superfluous to

mention it. What does bear comment, however, is the meaning of "independence" in a liberation strategy for the oppressed and exploited.

The basic thesis throughout this book is that the struggle of the multi-racial masses can be advanced only by independence from monopoly's racist, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist policies at home and abroad. The aim of such policies is to break the bonds of international solidarity—to induce nations and movements to be "independent" of the world anti-imperialist struggle. This is the kind of "independence" that U.S. imperialism and apartheid South Africa are trying to impose militarily on the new People's Republic of Angola.

Continuing along these same lines, Allen states, "Although the tactics changed from one period to another the party's basic strategy remained the same: to gain control of the Black movement"—in order to "advance the foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union." (*Ibid.*, p. 220)

One cannot help noting that these allegations fit right in with monopoly propaganda about "Communist conspiracies" and "Communist takeovers"—including the very latest proclamations from Moynihan, Kissinger, Ford and Vorster!

As for the Communist Party's relationship to what Allen caricatures as the "foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union," one might first ask: Was Axis fascism's defeat—which was achieved primarily through the struggle and sacrifice of the U.S.S.R.—"foreign" to the interest of the peoples of the world?

Allen does not provide a single example of how opposition to the so-called foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union would have advanced the interests of the oppressed and exploited. Instead, he gives his own version of what "advancing" these "foreign policy interests" means:

In periods of rapprochement with the West the Communist movement abandoned the national liberation movements in the colonies and played down the grievances of oppressed national minorities in order not to embarrass new-found imperialist friends. (*Ibid.*, p. 237)

Allen's substitution of "rapprochement" for "detente" is no accident: it is at the center of his claim that Communists have "abandoned" the liberation struggles. "Rapprochement" implies a lessening of the contradiction between the world socialist system, with the Soviet Union at its center, and the capitalist system, with U.S. imperialism as its principal bulwark. In reality, of course, the contradiction between the systems grows sharper—evidenced in the growing contrast between socialist advances from Moscow to Havana, and the crisis of capitalism as reflected in the worsening daily lives of the oppressed and exploited.

Communist support for detente, on the other hand, is support to the struggle to compel imperialism to conduct peaceful, mutually beneficial trade relations between states instead of the economic warfare imposed by the transnational corporations, which is particularly devastating to the newly independent countries. The fight to compel imperialism to operate within such a framework can be won only by the united strength of the socialist countries, the anti-colonial struggles and the international working class. Coexistence between different states does not imply easing of the anti-imperialist struggle. On the contrary, the pre-condition for attaining peaceful coexistence and full exercise of the right to self-determination is intensification of international class and anti-colonial struggles.

The fight for detente is the only way to reduce the burden of the armaments race and the threat of nuclear disaster imposed by imperialism. The fight for detente is the fight for the right of "third world" and socialist countries to a future without the economic, political or military intervention of imperialism. It is a fight in the most immediate interests of the masses in the United States struggling for an alternative to the crisis imposed by monopoly's neo-colonialist aims.

The fight to make detente and peaceful coexistence irreversible is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism's export of counter-revolution and its overall strategy to reverse the decolonization struggles in the "third world." Self-determination becomes a hypocritical slogan unless reinforced by an uncompromising struggle for peaceful coexistence—for the right of newly independent countries to shape their own destiny, to be free of imperialism's relentless pressures to recolonize them.

The theory that the fight for detente means "rapprochement" with imperialism—resulting in "abandonment" of national liberation movements and "playing down" the "grievances of oppressed nationalities"—coincides with the Maoist/Baraka view that peaceful coexistence slows down the revolutionary process, while imperialist aggression "fuels" revolution. (The credibility of this "super-revolutionary" theory is hardly enhanced by the role of the Maoist Chinese as accomplices to U.S. imperialism and fascist South Africa!)

To claim that detente means "rapprochement" with rather than struggle against imperialism is to fit in with the direction Moynihan and Kissinger vainly try to impose on detente: After Moynihan declared that the U.S. goal was breaking up anti-imperialist unity of "third world" countries—and that it would use economic warfare to do so—Kissinger asserted expanded trade with the Soviet Union was out because of its support to the MPLA. But the Soviet Union—consistent with its stand

through every phase of its history—refused to retreat from the Leninist principle of the indivisibility of the right to peaceful coexistence and the right to self-determination.

A telling answer to those who attempt—whether from the “Left” or Right—to distort Soviet policy and its place within the bonds of anti-imperialist solidarity was given by Dr. Agostino Neto, leader of the MPLA. Dr. Neto declared:

Let’s get one basic point clear. All throughout the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and all the time we were subject to exploitation, oppression and the worst brutalities, Mr. Kissinger had absolutely nothing to say. Even at that time, the Soviet Union was helping us by sending supplies of arms for our liberation struggle and for this we are very grateful.

It is when we have become independent and free, and beginning to build our state, that the United States State Department becomes worried by the fact that we have Soviet arms.

Continuing, Dr. Neto stated:

One cannot therefore put the world’s liberating forces which are engaged in working for the genuine liberation of people—these forces are represented here by the socialist countries including the Soviet Union, Cuba and progressive African countries—on the same footing as forces which want to control our country and take it over. (*The New York Times*, January 9, 1976)

To turn detente into “rapprochement” with rather than struggle against imperialism is, of course, the futile aim of Kissinger and Moynihan.

“Lenin’s Injunction”

Continuing his critique of policies and practices he has assigned to the CPUSA, Allen writes:

... the American CP (1) failed to heed Lenin’s injunction to avoid abstract definitions and instead study the actual development of national movements, and (2) thus closed itself off from understanding Northern and urban black nationalism as a manifestation of self-determination. Both Lenin’s and Stalin’s understanding of self-determination was based primarily on the European and Russian experience. Neither had direct knowledge of the struggles of black people in the U.S. If they had they might have realized that the struggle for self-determination among blacks was only occasionally linked to the land. Black people were not a nation oppressed on its own land by foreign rule. Blacks had been ripped from their

homeland and oppressed by the social organization of white America and its dehumanizing ideology of white supremacy. Consequently, chief themes in the struggle for black self-determination have been the demand for organizational and ideological independence. (*Reluctant Reformers*, pp. 222–3)

Allen adds:

The problem was not that the party advocated the right of self-determination, but that it sought to define and restrict this right without taking cognizance of the dynamics of black history. Consequently, the party found itself burdened with an unrealistic program of black liberation that advocated nationhood without nationalism, on one hand, and racial integration without ideological independence on the other. (*Ibid.*, p. 223)

Thus Allen tells us Marxist-Leninist principles apply only to Europe. In reality, however, one can understand the United States only through Marxist-Leninist analysis. This is confirmed, for instance, by a comparison of Allen’s view of the Black condition with that of the Communist Party. (One must note at this point that we are not the “American CP” but the CPUSA. The application of the term “American” to only one country—which reflects the desire of this nation’s ruling class to appropriate an entire hemisphere—is angrily rejected by Latin Americans.)

First, the Communist Party does not consider that the struggle for Black liberation “was only occasionally linked to the land.” To claim otherwise is to violate “Lenin’s injunction to avoid abstract definitions and instead study the actual developments of national movements.”

If one studies the “actual development” of Black people in the United States, one can hardly overlook the more than 200 years of slavery, when their lives and destiny were continuously “linked to the land.” And for 50 to 75 years after the Civil War, Black people for the most part remained “linked to the land.” These links were broken only when the former slaves were driven from the land they never owned, and a new period in the Black people’s development opened.

Referring to this time, Robert Allen asserts that the Communist Party “closed itself off from understanding Northern and urban black nationalism as a manifestation of self-determination.” In reality, however, Allen has closed himself off from understanding this period by overlooking its *class* significance: the historic implications of breaking the links with the land in an area of Black majority in the South and the transformation of the majority of Black people from a serflike agrarian population to proletarians.

In giving us “abstract definitions” instead of the “actual develop-

ment" of the Black experience in the United States, Allen misses both the similarities and differences in the Black condition between the period after the Civil War and the period when the links with the land were broken for the majority of Blacks: After the Civil War, the freed slaves were still tied to the land they did not own. Later, when capitalism in its monopoly stage smashed these links with the land, the descendants of the slaves were transformed into proletarians—suffering every form of economic, social and political inequality within a system which locked them, along with white workers, into a single monopoly-capitalist-controlled economy.

Of course, the Communist Party has made mistakes. Allen, however, is so preoccupied with discussing mistakes the CP did not make that he overlooks the greatest mistake it ever made: This mistake, the liquidation of the Party which took place during World War II under Earl Browder's leadership, was quickly recognized and rectified.

Paralleling his preoccupation with alleged Communist mistakes is Allen's projection of concepts that would jeopardize Black liberation—which cannot be advanced by abstract calls for "ideological independence." Such a "classless" concept, which does not distinguish between bourgeois nationalist and working class ideology, obscures the necessity for advancing the leading role of Black workers, the most revolutionary force among the Black people.

A viable strategy for Black liberation must recognize that while the Black people's past was linked to the land, its present and future are linked to the demand for equality in jobs and opportunity in an industrialized economy. To advance toward this objective requires an anti-monopoly coalition in which Black people play a vital and independent role. To this strategy Allen counterposes a "demand for organizational and ideological independence." This concept would bury the demands of Black workers, the majority of the Black people. It would divert the struggle into separatist channels, which would be neither organizationally nor politically independent. Instead, the Black people would become dependent on bourgeois nationalist "solutions" inside the ghetto, that is, dependent on a Black exploiting minority who are dependent on the white monopolist ruling class.

The only independent policy for Black liberation is the facing up to the fact that the transformation accompanying urbanization and proletarianization of the Black condition carried with it an unchallengeable demand: an equal share for Black people in the control of the total U.S. economy, built with so many centuries of Black chattel and wage slavery.

For a brief moment Allen does get near the truth of the Black

condition—only to lose it. This is when he writes, "Blacks had been ripped from their homeland and oppressed by the social organization of white America and its dehumanizing ideology of white supremacy."

It is of course true that Black people, after being "ripped from their homeland," were oppressed by the social organization in the land to which they were forcibly brought. But that oppression was not and is not the result of "the social organization of white America": Black people were first oppressed by the tiny white slave-owning class; now that they have been "ripped from" the land in the South, they are oppressed by the tiny white monopoly capitalist class. Today they are part of a single multi-racial working class which suffers varying levels of exploitation by a single monopoly-controlled economy.

Obviously, Allen is right in pointing to the role of the "dehumanizing ideology of white supremacy" in the oppression of Black people. But again, he is wrong in attributing it to "white America," thus denying its capitalist class source and its role in disuniting the potential for an anti-monopoly offensive.

By failing to recognize the roots of Black oppression, Allen arrives at open-ended conclusions—leading either to the separatist myth of Black capitalism or to the pseudo-radical concept of the Black people forming an internal colony in the United States. It is particularly harmful for Allen to leave the way open for such concepts in *Reluctant Reformers*, since in his previous book he explicitly advanced the internal colony theory. He wrote:

The only factor which differentiates the Negro's status from that of a pure colonial status is that his position is maintained in the "home" country in close proximity to the dominant racial group. (*Black Awakening In Capitalist America*, by Robert L. Allen, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1970, p. 6)

He then went on to quote approvingly Stokely Carmichael who said, "Our people are a colony within the United States." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

It is ironic that in *Reluctant Reformers* Allen opens the way for perpetuating the same errors he made in his previous book, while offering a detailed critique of the Communist Party's alleged errors in the Black liberation struggle. Of the CP, he writes:

After wavering for decades, the party officially dropped the concept of self-determination in the 1950s following the advent of the era of "peaceful coexistence." (*Reluctant Reformers*, p. 223)

This interpretation of the reasons for changes in Communist Party policy is as accurate as the description of the 1950s as an "era of 'peaceful coexistence.'" Not only were the 1950s an era of cold war, but

the struggle for an era of peaceful coexistence is still to be won. It is clear that Allen gives such an interpretation to Communist Party policy only to imply that it is not based on changing conditions in the United States, but tied to what he distorts as the "foreign policy interests of the Soviet Union."

In *Strategy For a Black Agenda*, I analyzed the "internal colony" theory, and summed up the development of the Communist Party's policies on Black liberation before and after the urbanization of the majority of Black people.

In a colony the liberation movement comprises the majority of the people, who struggle for control over the economic life of their common territory. Because a different situation exists in the United States, a Black liberation strategy here must differ from an anti-colonial strategy aiming for political independence for a majority on a common territory and with a viable economy. The ghettos of the United States, despite the intensity of their oppression, are economically and politically different from colonies. And this difference can be traced to their origins: Ghettos are the descendants of the old Southern slave quarters and are no more economically viable than were their plantation forerunners.

To attempt to apply the "internal colony" theory to the Black people in the United States is to overlook the nature of a colony, which always has a common territory and economy, and is usually separated geographically from the "mother" country. However, whether separate or adjacent, the colony's economy is detachable from that of the imperialist country to which it is linked. To speak of a colonial economy means to speak of the raw materials—diamonds, oil, silver, cocoa, sugar, coffee, tin, jute, gold, uranium, bananas, spices, copper—that are the source of countless billions for imperialism's super-profits. But the raw materials for industry and agriculture found in colonies are missing from ghettos—whose streets are lined not with gold and oil, or any other raw material, but only rubble.

The imperialists invest huge sums to develop transportation for bringing the resources of a colony to the "mother" country. But these monopolists fail to provide anything like decent transportation for Black workers who must travel to jobs—or look for them—far outside the ghettos where they live.

A colony's raw materials come from a common territory offering more than ample scope for independent development—and colonies are consistently marked by underdevelopment. Obviously, such underdevelopment cannot be equated with the economic, social and political inequality characterizing U.S. ghettos.

A colony's underdevelopment is linked to imperialism's export of capital to control the colony's resources and economy. No matter how extensive imperialist penetration into a colony may be, *imperialism always prevents production of the means of production.*

As a result, many former colonies and semi-independent countries continue to be underdeveloped and tightly controlled by neo-colonialism—except to the degree that they join with the world anti-imperialist forces, with the Soviet Union and the socialist community to break out of neo-colonialism and take the non-capitalist path of development toward socialism.

Can Ghettos Provide Separate Economic Development?

The people who live in a colony earn their living *only* within that colony. But this is not true of the majority in Harlem, Chicago's South Side, Watts and Bedford Stuyvesant. These ghettos are geographically separated and economically detachable only in the view of those who confuse segregation with geography and economy. What ghetto has fields, mines, oil wells and an economy separate or detachable from that of the United States? A colony has the potential for offering full economic, social and political development for the people on its territory. But is this possible in a ghetto?

Stokely Carmichael made this claim. Equating the barren ghettos with colonies that provide the raw materials for imperialism's super-profits, he stated:

The struggle for Black power in the United States, and certainly around the world, is the struggle to free these colonies from external domination but we do not seek merely to create communities where black rulers replace white rulers, controlling the lives of black masses and where black money goes into a few black pockets. We want to see it go into the communal pocket . . . (*Stokely Speaks*, by Stokely Carmichael, Vintage Books, New York, 1971, p. 87)

Carmichael's rhetoric about "black money" going into the "communal pocket" does nothing to help the struggle to put money into the pockets of the unemployed, underemployed and underpaid Black masses. For that, a different strategy is needed.

By equating U.S. ghettos with colonies, Carmichael also equated a Black liberation strategy in the United States with anti-colonial independence and liberation struggles in the African countries. Thus he distorted the meaning of Black power. Behind a facade of radical rhetoric, Carmichael's proposals closely paralleled the "Black capital-

ism" myth of "enrichment" inside the ghetto as put forth by corporate proponents of segregation and inequality. Calling *such* a program "communal" instead of capitalist is hardly adequate for concealing its accommodation to racism, exploitation and oppression. Power and liberation for Black people cannot be won with a separatist "strategy" based on the illusion that these objectives can be realized within the ghetto's confines.

To talk about power means to speak of political power—of the shift of power from one class to another. The Civil War brought a change of power from the slave-owners to the rising industrial capitalist class. Today the monopoly capitalist class controls the entire U.S. economy—and all talk of self-determination in the ghetto is a sham. This certainly includes the "Ujama" concept put forth by Imamu Amiri Baraka: "*Ujama* (Cooperative Economics)—To build and maintain our own stores, shops, and other businesses and to profit together from them."

This is not a strategy for Black liberation. It is a prescription for bourgeois nationalist accommodation to the white ruling class in contradiction to the interests of Black people. While the Black bourgeoisie would share in the limited Black market, the Black masses would be diverted from broad anti-monopoly struggles for equality and jobs—i.e., jobs wherever they can be found, which means outside the ghetto.

An Inseparable Part of U.S. Economy

If the possibility ever existed for a separate economy in this country for Black people, it was before the transformation of Southern agriculture into large-scale capitalist agriculture. Such a possibility vanished with monopoly's massive penetration of the entire South. The area in the South that formerly held a Black majority became an inseparable part of the total national economy—with Wall Street, not cotton, as king.

In the decades between the betrayal of Reconstruction and the end of World War II, the majority of former slaves were sharecroppers and tenant farmers—a serflike status somewhere between chattel slavery and wage labor. At that time the South's economy was undergoing a process of dual development: Although it was coming increasingly within the national economy's orbit, the South—particularly in the area of continuing Black majority—still retained features differentiating it from the rest of the country's economy. Until recently, in fact, the pattern of economic development in the area of former Black majority was neither completely separate nor identical with the total economy.

During the period when the South's economy, because of its dual process of development, had not yet come completely within monopoly control, and before the Black majority had shifted into urban ghettos, the Communist Party was formed. It developed from the Left forces in the old Socialist Party and the Left forces emerging from the Black people's struggle after World War I.

The founders of the Communist Party rejected the simplistic, anti-Marxist denial by the right wing in the old Socialist Party of the special character of racist oppression in the United States. While the Communist Party saw from its inception that the anti-racist struggle was part of the class struggle, it also recognized that Blacks were oppressed as a people—and that labor with a white skin and labor with a black skin could not be free unless the special demands of the triply oppressed Black people were placed at the core of the fight for progress and socialism.

In that period the Communists' approach to Black liberation flowed from their analysis of the continuing duality in the South's development. In October 1930 a Congress of the Communist International adopted the following resolution, describing this duality and its significance for Black people:

It is not correct to consider the Negro zone of the South as a colony of the United States. Such a characterization of the Black belt could be based in some respects only upon artificially construed analogies, and would create superfluous difficulties for the clarification of ideas. In rejecting this estimation, however, it should not be overlooked that it would be none the less false to try to make a fundamental distinction between the character of national oppression to which the colonial peoples are subjected and the yoke of other oppressed nations. Fundamentally, national oppression in both cases is of the same character, and is in the Black Belt in many respects worse than in a number of actual colonies. On one hand the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically, such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States. But on the other hand, this zone is not, either economically or politically, such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country.

In *Strategy For a Black Agenda*, I commented on this resolution:

This analysis was made at a time when the duality in the South's development had not yet culminated in the changes which would eventually wipe out the main differential between its economy, with its huge Black majority territory, and that of the rest of the country. At that time the Communist Party adopted a program calling for the right of self-determination in the area of Black majority in the South,

but even then the Party placed the primary, immediate emphasis in every struggle, North and South, on the fight for full equality. (*Strategy For A Black Agenda*, p. 309. Emphasis in the original.)

Whether the Party was correct in adopting the policy of the right to self-determination in the Black Belt is a question, some may contend, on which there is room for differences. However, what is of key importance is the fact that the Party has discarded this policy as a result of the South's economy having evolved as an undetachable, indivisible part of monopoly's total national economy. Together with this fundamental change in the South's economy came a basic shift in this area's Black/white population ratio, a shift that in the first place reduced what had been a Black majority in the 189 counties of the Black Belt to a minority. At the same time this transformed the Black majority from an agrarian to an urban population.

Thus, when the Communist Party called for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt, the conditions were basically different from those existing today. On the other hand, proponents of the "Black colony" concept still put forth the idea of self-determination, even though it now contradicts the facts of contemporary economic and political reality. As a result, the colony analogy has produced distorted, anti-Marxist variations on the self-determination slogan—from advocacy of "Black capitalism" to "revolutionary" self-determination in the ghettos scattered about the country.

Those adherents of the "Black colony" theory who advocate self-determination—whether in undisguisedly conservative form or with "revolutionary" rhetoric—ignore the profound historic differences between the present period and the time when the Communist Party called for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt.

Not only is the Black Belt no longer an area of Black majority, but even more important are the economic and political differences underlying the shift of the Black majority from the agrarian South to urban ghettos, North, South, East, and West. This population shift—encompassing millions—reflects a transformation in class composition of the overwhelming majority of Black people.

The oppressed Black people—driven by hunger and the hope of escape from oppression—left the vast contiguous Black Belt and plantation area where they had formed a majority. This migration transformed them in their great majority from peasants to proletarians, who suffer new forms of super-exploitation and racist discrimination within corporate monopoly's total national economy.

It was in this context that James E. Jackson, a Communist Party leader, stated:

The objective factors operating in relation to the Negro people in the United States are working not in the direction of national insularity or separate development of its nationhood. (*Theoretical Aspects of the Negro Question in the U.S.*, February 1959, p. 11)

Puerto Rico's Contrasting Status

To contrast the status of the Puerto Rican people and their relationship to U.S. imperialism is again to expose the fallacy of the "internal colony" analogy.

Those who advance this analogy emphasize some common features of oppression—but obscure the fundamental difference in the position of Afro-Americans and the Puerto Rican people within the system of U.S. monopoly oppression. As a result, they conceal the fact that the Black liberation movement requires a fundamentally different strategy than the demands of the Puerto Rican and other independence movements against neo- or semi-colonial rule.

Puerto Ricans are the majority in the territory they occupy. The Puerto Rican economy—now linked to and dominated by U.S. imperialism—is detachable from the U.S. economy, as was Cuba's. And the primary demand of Puerto Ricans—like that of the Cuban people when they were struggling to open the way for their national and social liberation—is for political independence. Under the so-called Commonwealth formula, Puerto Rico is held prisoner within U.S. monopoly's orbit. The starting point of the Puerto Rican strategy for sovereign control of Puerto Rico's economy and government is the demand for political independence.

However, the bourgeois nationalists of Puerto Rico oppose political independence. Instead of joining in the demand for independence, they propagate the myth that Puerto Ricans can jointly determine their future with the United States within the "Commonwealth."

It is interesting in this regard to take a look at what Lenin wrote concerning certain radicals in his time who misinterpreted the meaning of the right to self-determination:

Our Polish comrades like this last argument, on joint determination instead of self-determination so much that they repeat it *three times* in their thesis! . . . All reactionaries and bourgeois grant to the nations forcibly retained within the frontiers of a given state the right to "determine jointly" their fate in a common parliament. (V. I. Lenin, *National Liberation, Socialism and Imperialism*, New York, International Publishers, 1968, p. 127)

Today the position of Puerto Rican bourgeois nationalists merges with that of U.S. imperialism: For Puerto Rico—with a separate

economy on a common territory occupied by Puerto Ricans—the monopolists are not afraid to offer the "right" to "determine jointly" with the U.S. Congress the fate of Puerto Rico.

This or any other formula for "joint" control of Puerto Rico is a sham, a one-way street. The Puerto Rican liberation movement is not out for joint control or participation in the U.S. economy. What it is demanding is an end to so-called joint control of the Puerto Rican economy.

Puerto Ricans constitute not only a majority of Puerto Rico's population but, aside from a handful of representatives of U.S. imperialism, they are the population. By contrast, in the United States, the Black liberation movement represents a minority people struggling for equality in determining U.S. political, social, and economic matters. But here the monopolists do everything they can to keep Black people from exercising their right to determine "jointly"—or even to share in—the economy of this country along with all other sections of the oppressed and exploited.

Of course, to become "partners" in a joint enterprise with U.S. imperialism is not the aim of the oppressed and exploited of this country! To end monopoly's control of the U.S. government and economy is the task of the masses of all races and backgrounds, under the leadership of Black and white workers. Only an anti-monopoly struggle—which the Black minority cannot wage by itself, but only together with the non-Black majority—can bring joint power and political and economic control to the people.

In "third world" countries whose economies need only to be freed from imperialist domination to become viable, U.S. imperialism has always used its economic and military power in opposition to self-determination. This is the same U.S. imperialism that propagates every form of separatist myth for Black people. This includes "self-determination" for a people without a common territory or detachable economy, a people dispersed in more than 160 major ghettos over the country. The same monopolists who propose "joint control" of Puerto Rico to Puerto Ricans offer Black people who live in ghettos an impossible "self-determination." And such "self-determination" is equally impossible whether presented as "Black capitalism" as Baraka's "cooperative economics" or as Carmichael's "communalism."

What is required for Black liberation in the United States is a strategy diametrically opposite to what is appropriate for Puerto Rican and other "third world" liberation movements. The peoples of colonial and dependent countries are out to break the links binding their economies to imperialism. For Black Americans, a liberation strategy

does not entail a break with the U.S. economy, but a struggle aimed at overcoming the forced exclusion of Black people from rightful participation in the U.S. economy. Here the goal is full equality within the total economy.

As James E. Jackson wrote:

The path of development of the Negro people toward individual and national equality does not take the route of struggle for national independence and political-geographical sovereignty and statehood. The Negro people in the United States historically, now, and most probably for the future, seek solutions to its national question in struggle for securing equality of political, economic and social status . . . (Ibid., p. 10)

The objective reality of the Black condition in this country has been transformed into the opposite of what it was at the time Black people were brought here by force and held in slavery for over two centuries. Today, far from being forcibly attached to the economy, Black people are increasingly pushed out of it by racist discrimination, unemployment and underemployment. Thus there is only one avenue to liberation: through resistance to the forces that forcibly separate, segregate and exclude Black people from full equality within the national economy.

"Same Direction, Different Bypaths"

Lenin wrote, "One must understand the changes and growth of every revolution. The revolution proceeds in its own way in every country . . ." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, Progress Publishers, p. 123) And on another occasion, he asserted that "different nations are advancing in the same historical direction, but by very different zigzags and bypaths . . ." (Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 195)

Liberation for colonial peoples begins with a rejection of the fantasy that their fate can be decided "jointly" within the framework of controls linking it to the U.S. economy. For Afro-Americans, by contrast, liberation can be achieved only by overcoming exclusion and inequality via a great anti-monopoly movement, in which Black people and all those exploited and oppressed by the common corporate enemy, struggle to win joint control of the nation's economy. Through such a revolutionary process Black people will gain full and equal participation in the total economy, together with equal representation in every area of this country's social, economic, political and governmental life.

Roy Innis: Recruiting Sergeant for Neo-Colonialism

That Roy Innis has stepped into the role of recruiting sergeant for neo-colonialism—trying to enlist Black mercenaries in the service of U.S. imperialism and apartheid South Africa—should not come as a surprise to anyone who has followed the developments in his career. The source of his current act of treason to Black liberation can, in fact, be found in any analysis of his ideology of surrender and active support to racism in the United States and Africa.

Solidarity with our African brothers and sisters and their solidarity with us are interchangeable, but the strategy for Black liberation in the United States and for Africa is not. In fact, the strategy for liberation is not even interchangeable between one African country and another. Ironically, Roy Innis, director of CORE, reverses these realities: He advocates an African strategy for this country, while simultaneously undermining the basis for anti-imperialist solidarity with Africa.

According to Innis, the future of Black people in the United States demands a political strategy whose goals—like those for African and other nations forced into a condition of underdevelopment by colonial domination—would be “self-determination” and “economic development.” The basis for “self-determination” and “economic development,” asserts Innis, is the Black ghettos scattered across the United States.

In order to advance this strategy—which would divert the Black liberation movement from its historic struggle to break out of the racist-imposed ghetto prisons of inequality and poverty—Innis is now

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making an effort to revive support for CORE's "Community Self-Determination Bill" of 1968. This is the subject of a full-page article by Innis in *The Afro-American*, August 14-18, 1973, in which he writes: "A serious problem exists when considering economic development in the black communities of the United States."

This problem, according to Innis, is that "the only time politics and political implications of economic development are considered is when the experiences of newly developing countries are discussed."

If there is a real foundation for Innis's complaint, it is indeed an encouraging sign. It would suggest that the views of those who see "economic development" in its proper perspective—i.e., in relation to "newly developing countries"—are in ascendancy in the Black liberation movement, as opposed to the narrow self-defeating nationalism of Innis (in its conservative form) and Carmichael or Baraka (in pseudo-radical guise).

The "importance of politics and the political unit—the concept of sovereignty," continues Innis, "is fully understood" only in the emerging nations. "Surprisingly enough," Innis complains, "that awareness is not transplanted to the United States." Although "we sometimes try to apply the same kind of economics" to the ghetto—termed "so-called ghettos" by Innis—"as is applied to the developing nations of the world, it is impossible to make a proper comparison."

While it should be apparent that it is impossible to "apply the same kind of economics" to the ghettos as to the developing nations because they are such vastly different formations, Innis sees it otherwise. It is impossible "to make a proper comparison," he asserts, "because these American internal colonies lack sovereignty." Thus, according to Innis, once "sovereignty" is attained, we can properly "apply" the economics of the developing nations to the ghettos. In other words, the ghettos have the same potential for "sovereignty"—for independent existence and development—as a colony, despite the fact that, unlike a colony, they possess no common territory nor any of the other prerequisites for separate economic development.

It is hardly surprising that Innis's idea of transplanting the concept of "sovereignty"—applicable as the starting point for liberation and social progress for imperialist-dominated colonies outside the United States, but not to the Black condition in the United States—is being met with increasing skepticism and outright rejection in the Black liberation movement here at home. By contrast, it is the concept of the interchangeability of solidarity—not of strategy—that motivates the Black liberation movement, and it is this that inspired the representatives of all segments of Black Americans who attended the first National

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Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation, a great conference of solidarity with the peoples of Africa struggling against the common enemy, world imperialism, headed by the United States.

"Natural Sociological Units"

Certainly, the question of sovereignty and economic development is central to liberation and social advance for the African countries. Independence and the ending of imperialist control would mean that in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique; etc., the country's total economy and resources would come within a single sovereign political unit and viable economy.

Although most African countries have won formal independence—sovereignty—they still remain under varying degrees of neo-colonial domination. Economic development, even in such large areas as the former African colonies where it is possible to build a viable economy, remains out of reach as long as the economies of the emerging countries are dependent on world imperialism—as long as their political and economic policies are primarily linked to the capitalist instead of the non-capitalist path; as long as they pursue the politics of anti-Communism instead of anti-imperialism; as long as they fail to establish expanding ties with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp and all the world anti-imperialist forces.

In his concept of sovereignty, Innis—who rejects anti-imperialist struggle as the common bond between the U.S. Black liberation movement and the African countries—equates the scattered ghettos of the United States with the nations of Africa. In developing this thesis, Innis asserts that Black people "live in natural sociological units. They are, in fact, local. They are the smallest political unit operating. But black people have not been considered a natural sociological unit." Instead, continues Innis, "They are considered a kind of colonial appendage of both the urban centers and rural areas of America. Blacks do not now exist as a political unit."

It should be unnecessary to remind Innis that the first "natural sociological units" in which Blacks lived in this country were the slave quarters—and they were kept there by the lash, the gun and the state power of the slavocracy. The contemporary "natural sociological units" in which most Black people live are the ghettos—and they are kept there by power descended from the slave owners to state monopoly capital. Just as the inhabitants of the slave quarters could exist only through their labor in the plantation economy controlled by the slave owners,

their descendants—who inhabit the grim reality of Innis's "natural sociological units"—can exist only through their labor within the country's total economy. And just as freedom from chattel slavery could not be won within the slave quarters, but demanded a national struggle to break the power of the slavocracy, liberation from racist oppression—the survival of slavery—can be won only through a broad people's struggle to break the power of the monopolies.

Innis attempts to make his fantasy of "self-determination" within the ghettos appear plausible by claiming that Black people constitute "a kind of colonial appendage" of the United States. Although there is only too much similarity between the genocidal treatment of Black Americans and of Africans, it is nonetheless absolutely false to describe the objective relationship of Black people to the U.S. economy as that of a "colonial appendage." It is another example of how the "internal colony" theory, which would sidetrack the Black liberation movement, has been taken up by conservatives like Innis as well as by pseudo-radicals.

Describing the status of Black people as a "colonial appendage" implies the existence of that which is non-existent. It implies that within the so-called natural sociological units scattered from Harlem to Watts exist the resources and territory needed for a unified, viable economic development—once these "units" become sovereign.

Transplanting concepts that apply to African countries can lead only to abandoning the struggle for Black liberation in the United States.

When One Speaks of a Colony

When one speaks of a colony, one is speaking of a *separate* society, a separate economy within a common territory. When a colony succeeds in freeing itself from the status of an appendage to the separate economy of an imperialist power, it opens the way to taking possession of its own resources, economy and future.

It is true that during and since slavery, Black people have been treated by the racist ruling class as a super-exploited "appendage," a reservoir first for unpaid and then for underpaid labor. But the fundamental difference between a colony and the Black condition in the United States is revealed in the fact that this super-exploitation has never taken place within two completely separated societies.

The Black condition in the United States has evolved as a relationship basically different from that of a colony and a "mother" country.

The colony analogy—with the ghettos seen as a "colonial appendage"—is simplistic and totally misleading. If the Black condition conformed to that of a mere "appendage" to the economy, then the history and development of this country, logic and reality instead of fantasy and demagogy, would be with Innis in his call for "self-determination" in the ghettos of the United States.

Even during the period when the economy and political power in the United States were *divided* and *shared* by the slave owners and the rising capitalist class, two independent societies did not exist. It was never possible for the slavocracy to survive as a separate society: It could exist only so long as the blood and toil of the slaves nourished the accumulation and expansion of capital in the non-slave area of the economy. In that period, the economy of chattel slavery and of wage labor was interconnected, interdependent, each involved in the interrelated process of capital accumulation from the unpaid labor of Black slaves and the cheap labor of white workers.

Today, with the U.S. economy fully unified under the control of monopoly capital, the central, all-pervasive fact of the Black condition is triple oppression: racial oppression, oppression as workers, and oppression as a people. This is the reality, a reality that did not evolve within a separate or even potentially detachable "colonial appendage"—but within a historic process which has locked Black people, along with the white masses, into the single society of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

But Innis does not recognize this reality. Instead, he argues that

Black people live in different areas from whites—geographically and spatially. In the urban areas especially, most black people live in the Harlems of New York City, the Roxburys of Boston, the Watts of Los Angeles and the South Chicagos of Chicago.

Whites live in other areas of the same cities. Black people number more than 30 million of this country's citizens. That represents more people than most of the populations of the independent countries of Europe.

Yet the people of each of these nations are recognized as a people. (*The Afro-American*, Aug. 14-18, 1973)

It is ironic that Innis demands Black people be "recognized" on the basis of conditions monopoly capital has *imposed* upon them: The monopolists "recognize" them as a people to be racially oppressed and super-exploited, and as an integral part of this they are forced to exist in the ghettos of Harlem, Watts, Roxbury, etc. Now Innis would have

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Black people accept a hopeless fate within these enclaves of segregation. By urging that these barren areas, devoid of material resources and without the possibility of developing an independent economy, be "recognized" as "sovereign," Innis assists corporate monopoly in condemning Black people to an even more sharply defined and oppressive neo-apartheid status.

In effect, what Innis proposes is that Black people—after spending over 350 years, in and out of slavery, building up the most industrially developed economy in the world—should voluntarily cut themselves off from an equal share now and in the future in this economy's immense potential for ending poverty, unemployment and ghetto slums, once the power of the monopolies is broken. He would have 30 million Black Americans abandon their fight for a rightful place in this industrially developed economy—built with their plundered labor—in exchange for "under-development" without a chance for development! CORE's fantasy of "Community Self-Determination" in the ghetto simply amounts to a call for unconditional surrender of the Black liberation movement to the racist corporate monopolists.

No Socially Redeeming Features

In asking that Black people exchange their right to an equal future in a highly developed country and instead turn their attention to "economic development in the black communities," Innis is projecting an indecent fantasy without a single socially redeeming feature. Nor is there a single redeeming feature to any other aspect of the "internal colony" concept, which simultaneously forms the basis for Innis's ideology of "Black capitalism" and for the various versions of pseudo-radical "theory" advanced by Baraka, Carmichael, Forman, etc.

The scattered ghettos in which most Black Americans live cannot be compared either to African colonies or former colonies. The only possible perspective for jobs for most Black people lies outside the dispersed Harlems and Roxburys. The present and future of 30 million Black people is inseparably linked to the same national economy upon which the white masses depend for their existence. Through their control of this national economy, a few hundred magnates of corporate monopoly exploit the white majority and triply oppress the Black minority who live and work within the same society, the same economic system.

While there is no prospect for jobs on a mass scale or for economic development within the ghettos, an opposite situation exists in the

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African countries. When the people of each of these countries take the resources and the economy out of alien, imperialist control, their future can be internally assured. But no such conditions or resources for separate economic development exist within the ghetto areas that Innis views as the territorial and economic conditions for Black liberation. He writes:

The productivity of black Americans can be measured by using one parameter—their \$40 billion contribution to the nation's gross national product. That's a great many dollars.

Innis then goes on to say:

The fact is that the \$40 billion in GNP represent more goods and services than those realized by many independent nations in the world.

Closer to home, that \$40 billion is the same dollar sum as the combined assets of America's three largest corporations—General Motors, Standard Oil (N.J.) and the Ford Motor Company.

Or measured another way, the black GNP is the equivalent of the combined annual sales of GM and Jersey Standard—and we know what power these industrial giants wield in both national and international politics and in the domestic and global economy.

In the first place, we must point out that the \$40 billion described by Innis as the Black contribution to the Gross National Product represents the income of Black people—and that income is, in fact, only a small portion of the value of what they contribute through their labor to the Gross National Product—and to the profits of monopoly. The monopolists' accounting methods embodied in the Gross National Product—which Innis does not question—conceal the billions in super-profits extracted by monopoly from the triple oppression of Black Americans. This \$40 billion figure would be massively greater if Black people were in a position of equality in the economy. But only when monopoly's power is broken by an anti-monopoly coalition will the conditions exist for unlimited material and social advance for Black people and the entire society.

Further, Innis's acceptance of the Gross National Product as the "parameter" of "productivity" for Black Americans obscures the fact that even less of the income of Black people than of white working people originates from the productivity of monopoly-controlled technology and automation. The increased productivity of technology under state-monopoly capitalism increases monopoly profits, but intensifies worker exploitation and creates greater unemployment—with the con-

sequences felt by Black and other minority workers first and most severely.

Instead of revealing the reality of the lack of Black economic power, Innis tries to make it appear that this power is very great—by making an analogy between the total income of 30 million Black people and the total sales of two of the corporate giants who control the total U.S. economy, exploiting the majority of whites while oppressing and exploiting Blacks and other minorities. The \$40 billion income of 30 million Black people—Innis would have us overlook the fact that almost three times \$40 billion goes each year for armaments and war!—cannot be stretched far enough to give even the appearance of papering over the increasing poverty of the Black masses.

Innis treats this \$40 billion figure as something positive instead of revealing what it is: a reflection of monopoly's robbery of the entire working class, and especially the super-exploitation of Black and other minorities. It is from the profits of this super-exploitation that U.S. imperialism conducts its military, economic and political drive to suppress national liberation movements not only in the Middle East but in all of Africa, as well as Asia, and Chile and other parts of Latin America.

But no matter how Innis manipulates these facts and figures, they nevertheless demonstrate that the solution to Black poverty and oppression is directly opposite to what he proposes. Innis claims that Black people's lack of control of the economic, social and political institutions in the ghetto accounts for the Black condition. However, it is what Blacks do not control outside of the ghettos that forces them into ghettos in the first place, and determines their poverty and inequality within them.

The mines, the mills—the total industrial and agricultural economy is controlled by a handful of racist monopolists. The lack of control of the economy by the Black, brown, yellow, red and white masses of this country is what accounts for the conditions of Black people, as well as those of the other minorities and the white masses.

In analyzing Innis's "Community Self-Determination" concept, it becomes apparent that it would help perpetuate, rather than help to end, monopoly's triple oppression of Black and other minorities. Innis's advice notwithstanding, at this very moment front-rank fighters for the entire working class and all the oppressed are emerging from the ghettos and barrios. They will be among those of all colors who forge and lead a great anti-monopoly movement to end race and class oppression in the United States.

But Innis rejects the concept that joint struggle against the common

monopolist enemy is decisive for Black people and other minorities and the great majority of whites. Instead, he advances policies that would help monopoly capital to perpetuate its control.

Reviving the Myth of "Majority Rule" in the U.S.

To bolster his thesis that Black people and the white masses have no common interests—and, instead, that the white masses and the white monopolists are one—Innis goes to great lengths to instill new life into the bourgeois myth of "majority rule" in capitalist United States. He states, for example:

Clearly no other people in the history of mankind have been so distributed within the widespread boundaries of such a vast country as America, or under such extreme conditions of oppression wielded by a majority at the height of its military power.

No manipulation of reality can erase the fact that the military power "wielded" by the monopolist minority in their genocidal aggression in Vietnam was opposed by the majority of the people in this country, Black and white. And it was only the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese, with the support of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, together with the massive protest of Black and white in the United States and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, that forced these monopolists—who also "wield" military as well as economic and political power over the majority in the United States—to withdraw their military machine after more than a decade in Vietnam.

Clearly, there is a precise objective in Innis's effort to revive the old "majority rule" fable. If, as Innis claims, the white majority—instead of the white monopolist minority—wields power, then Blacks would have to reject the possibility of building a broad anti-monopoly coalition, based on the common interests of the non-white minority and the white majority, to defeat the power-wielding white minority, and instead, accept Innis's illusory goal of "self-determination" within the ghetto "natural sociological units."

Innis, in other words, would have Black people give up their right to wield power jointly and equally with the white majority within the "widespread boundaries of such a vast country." By claiming there is already majority control in the United States—that is, control by a white majority—Innis obscures the brutal reality of white minority monopolist control. In attempting to camouflage the enemy monopolists by their color, Innis assists them in their aim of continuing to wield power over the majority, the Black and non-Black masses. By opting for "self-

determination" in the ghetto, Innis is telling Black people they can gain control over their future separate from and outside the framework of a struggle against the monopolists.

As more and more white workers understand the ABC of oppression and exploitation—i.e., the white minority exploiting them is the same white minority oppressing and exploiting Black workers—the unity of Black and white workers will bring about an anti-monopoly coalition of labor and its allies. Black liberation cannot come about outside this process, nor can the needs of white workers be realized. Racism—along with anti-Communism—is the major block to this process, and it is the responsibility of white workers to recognize racism for the divisive poison it is and to struggle against it. There is no alternative to this process—for either Blacks or whites. By mislabeling the majority of whites the enemy, Innis denies the possibility of breaking monopoly's power, and instead, retreats before it in the name of "Community Self-Determination."

Yet at one point in his article, in contradiction to his central thesis of white majority rule, Innis lets slip who the real enemy is. He admits that "we know what power these industrial giants wield in both national and international politics and in the domestic and global economy." Once this admission is made—unless Innis cares to maintain that the monopolists wield political and economic power over everyone in the United States except the most oppressed section, Black people—one must ask: Can Blacks alone control the giants of monopoly? Can Blacks alone—without a policy of alliance with all those whose interests conflict with the monopoly class—take on even one of "America's three largest corporations," let alone the power of that class as a whole, the class that owns the decisive sectors of the economy and through this ownership controls the total economy in and out of the ghetto?

It is impossible for any segment of the oppressed and exploited—including the exploited majority of white workers—to effectively take on even a single corporation in their fight for better conditions, as the struggles of the workers at GM, Chrysler, Ford, etc., will attest. When workers take on even a single corporation, they encounter the *collective* power of the monopolists, brought to bear—with the assistance of government—against their just demands. This is the meaning of state monopoly capitalism, whose collective power is decisive in the daily lives of the masses of working people, whatever their color or origin. If no segment of the workers—not even the white majority—can by itself effectively challenge even one corporate monopoly, how can the Black minority, separate from the rest of the oppressed and exploited, effectively take on *all* the monopolists, the power of state monopoly

capitalism? In the real world in which we live it is impossible to challenge monopoly without an alliance with those whose interests also demand an anti-monopoly struggle.

Yet, in the face of this, Innis advances a separatist theory that would have all segments of the working class, as well as the Black and brown people as a whole, reject a strategy to counter the collective power of state monopoly capitalism with the collective power of all the oppressed and exploited. Innis asserts, "it is in the interest of all black people and white people to support the program of black nationalism"—i.e., separatism. If the masses, Black, brown, red, yellow and white, were to accept his advice, all segments of the oppressed and exploited would remain divided, without the means of resisting monopoly's twin weapons of racism and anti-Communism—without a unified strategy to oppose the unified strategy of the monopoly oppressor.

Innis's ideology presents no challenge to those who control the national economy. On the contrary, by concealing the identity of the oppressors, it would undermine the struggle against them.

"Mutually Satisfactory to Both Sides"

Innis's approach would divert the struggle of the Black liberation movement from the goal of sharing and controlling this total economy together with the other segments of the population now excluded from power—the masses of all colors. Control of the economy by those now exploited and oppressed can come about only through the joint action of the white working majority and the Black people and other minorities. This kind of control—the sole source of power for the masses—is the basis for solving the problems of the people imprisoned in the ghetto. Innis, however, argues to the contrary:

But we black people are oppressed in the land of the oppressor, with the oppressor being the premier military power of the world. This is a different problem; it requires very special solutions, because the normal solution to oppression is to boot out the oppressor.

Unless we have plans to ship the Europeans home, the alternative and unique solution—and the one black people hope to achieve—must be mutually satisfactory to both sides—black and white. It requires that both sides understand that Black people cannot have political power without an economic base.

Although Innis repeatedly asserts that the white majority have power and are therefore the oppressor, he cannot hide the fact that real

power lies with the monopolist minority. Therefore, when he talks of coming to a "mutual agreement," he is referring to an agreement with the white minority—the monopolists. Thus he proposes that Black people determine their future not in a united struggle with all the oppressed and exploited against monopoly, but by arriving at a "mutually satisfactory" agreement with the white racist monopolists who wield, as even Innis is forced to admit, global power—economically, politically, militarily.

But Black people do not share Innis's social and historical amnesia. They know that since the betrayal of Reconstruction, the magnates of capital—following in the footsteps of the slavocracy—have through a "mutually satisfactory" agreement done everything in their power to deny every single right and every single opportunity to the oppressed and exploited. When he proposes that Black people come to a "mutually satisfactory" agreement with their oppressors, can Innis have forgotten how the oppressors welcomed Booker T. Washington's appeal for a "mutually satisfactory" agreement—the notorious "Atlanta Compromise" of 1895? Has he forgotten that this "mutually satisfactory" arrangement ushered in a new era of segregation, lynch law, and economic and social genocide?

Of course, the monopolists find Innis's proposal of "self-determination" in the ghetto as the economic base for Black liberation as welcome a "solution" as their predecessors found Washington's "Atlanta Compromise." But despite the monopolists' hopes, not Innis but the Black people will have the final word on what constitutes an acceptable solution to their problems.

Unlike Innis, the Black masses will not overlook the fact that these same corporate giants and their representatives in government are doing everything in their power to bring about recolonization of the newly independent nations. Unlike Innis, they will not overlook the economic and military assistance these monopolists provide to racist imperialism in all of southern Africa, and to Israeli aggression against the peoples of the Middle East and in the northern part of the African continent.

It is literally astounding for Innis to propose that 30 million Black people should seek a "mutually satisfactory" agreement for an "economic basis" from the U.S. imperialists who are bringing massive economic, political and military power to bear on the African continent to prevent more than 50 African nations from controlling their own material resources as the "economic basis" for independence and development.

Because "we black people are oppressed in the land of the oppres-

sor," Innis would have us believe it is impossible to get rid of the oppressor. It is true that no single segment of the oppressed and exploited—not even the white masses who are the majority—can through separate action "boot out the oppressor." This can come about only through joint action of *all* the oppressed and exploited.

By refusing to acknowledge the enemy as a tiny white monopolist minority, Innis is able to claim that it is impossible to "boot out the oppressor," and then proceed to his own "alternative": "Unless we have plans to ship the Europeans home, the alternative and unique solution must be mutually satisfactory"—that is, the monopolists must grant Black people an "economic basis" for "sovereignty" in the ghetto.

In order to make his "alternative" seem valid, Innis has presented us with a false issue—that booting out the oppressor is synonymous with booting the oppressor out of the country. But in the United States, booting out the oppressor means booting the monopolist enemy out of power. And when the oppressors are correctly identified as a tiny minority of monopolists, booting them out can be seen as the only realistic solution.

Of course, in the United States we are not yet at the point where the issue is booting out the monopolist oppressor from ownership of the dominant sectors of the economy. We can arrive at that goal only through a great popular struggle to break monopoly control of government at all levels. This is the strategy—requiring the joint struggle of labor and the majority of the working masses of all colors, together with the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American liberation movements—that will open the way to basic change, the strategy for a winning struggle to boot the monopolists out of control and ultimately establish socialism.

But Innis, advising us that it is impossible "to boot out the oppressor," proposes instead a goal of "Community Self-Determination"—that is, perpetuation of the ghettos, with a few crumbs for the small Black bourgeoisie and acceptance of a system of continued racial oppression for 30 million Black people.

What George Padmore's policies sought to accomplish for imperialism in Africa, Roy Innis's policies seek to accomplish for imperialism in the United States and Africa.

"Separate But Better"

To understand the full implications of Innis's concept of separate development within the ghetto "natural sociological units," one not only must keep in mind their direct relationship to such other "natural

sociological units" as the Black slave quarters and South Africa's apartheid areas. One also must consider the ideology accompanying establishment of these "natural sociological units."

For instance, according to the slave owners and their apologists, the Civil War did a disservice to the slaves: The destruction of chattel slavery meant the end of "security" for the slaves. Therefore, concluded the apologists, the Civil War and Reconstruction were reactionary, while the special oppression, the separate existence of Blacks within the slave system was "progressive." This was the core of the slave owners' "separate but better" argument, the antecedent of the "separate but equal" ideology used to justify the betrayal of Reconstruction—which was written into law to institutionalize racism in every facet of life of the post-Reconstruction South, and which had such sweeping effects in establishing de facto segregation in the North.

Within this context Innis's aim of "separate but equal development" within the ghetto "natural sociological units" can be seen for what it is: an attempt to lead Black people backward, to get them to accept concepts they have never ceased fighting.

Because of the Black people's historic rejection of "separate but equal," it is, of course, necessary for Innis to present his concept so it appears to be something other than what it is. Innis therefore tries to put his idea across by identifying it with the African struggles for which Black people have such a deep sense of solidarity. He wraps the old racist myth of "separate but equal" in new phrases, suggesting that the ghettos have the same potential for "self-determination," "sovereignty" and "economic development" as the emerging African nations.

Innis would have us believe that he imported his "separate but equal" concept from the African liberation movements, but actually it followed quite a different route. Originated by the U.S. slaveholders, "separate but equal" was taken over by the monopolists who replaced them, and was later imported into South Africa by its white imperialist rulers. There it served as the doctrine establishing "separate but equal" fascist-enforced apartheid in the so-called Republic of South Africa. And now Innis has repatriated "separate but equal" back to the land of its birth—now the center and global enforcer of race, class and national oppression.

Seen in true perspective, this is the meaning of Innis's "Community Self-Determination" proposals. In the present domestic and world context, this concept—whether Innis realizes it or not—assists U.S. monopoly in its aim of applying to the Black people of the United States an Americanized version of the "separate but equal" "self-deter-

mination" in the Bantustan "homelands" (i.e., reservations) of South Africa.

Innis's assertion that Blacks can attain "sovereignty" in the ghettos scattered across the United States clearly jibes with the racist claim that Africans have won self-determination within these scattered Bantustan "homelands." Each of these several separate "homelands," surrounded by white areas, is larger than the combined area of all the U.S. urban ghettos. Yet not one of these reservations by itself or all of them together could develop a viable economy. (And even if separate economic development were possible in these "homelands," acceptance of such a perspective would mean surrender by the Africans of most of their land, their immense material resources and national economy to the racist minority.)

All the best land as well as the resources lie outside the "homelands." And the white ruling class controls South Africa's economy—built with the labor and blood of Africans—that surrounds and locks in these "homelands." And that is not all that surrounds them. The armed forces of the fascist apartheid state encircle each of these "homelands." They enforce the apartheid laws determining who goes into and who goes out of these rural ghettos. No man, woman or child can move into or out of the "homelands" without a pass. These passes are issued by the apartheid-enforcers of the racist South African government. The supreme task of all agencies of government—the army, the police, the courts—is enforcement of the separation of the races and total control of population movements down to the last man, woman and child. And these same agencies also control what products go into or out of the "homelands."

Here in the United States, abolition took the fugitive slave law off the books, and the Civil Rights struggles brought an end to legal segregation, making legal movement for Black people possible in certain previously forbidden areas. Nevertheless, control of the Black population's movements still continues, with the job primarily done by the laws of capitalist economics buttressed by the all-pervasive racist practices of this country. In South Africa police violence is carried out against Africans in the name of enforcing legal apartheid. In the United States police violence is carried out illegally—but in "the name of the law," with the sanction of the racist government and judicial agencies—against the inhabitants of the ghettos and barrios.

Of course, the similarities between the economic and social features of racist oppression in the United States and South Africa must not blind one to the basic distinctions in the struggle against racist and class

oppression in these two countries. Tens of thousands of Black workers in all parts of South Africa continue the struggle for the right to form unions, to advance beyond starvation wages and in defiance of the pass laws—the foundation of apartheid fascism—in the face of the police power which recently murdered striking miners.

In the United States, monopoly capitalism ceaselessly resorts to repressive measures to turn back the struggles of Black people and labor as a whole. And Nixon's Watergate clearly revealed the danger of the imposition of fascism in the United States. But extreme reaction has not succeeded in bringing this about. On the other hand, in South Africa, where monopoly capital rules with the support of U.S. imperialism, the form of rule is open fascist violence. This difference outweighs the similarities between Black oppression in the United States and in South Africa, and is basic to the strategy for South Africa—where the African workers and masses fight to smash apartheid fascism as an indivisible part of the struggle for liberation.

Self-Determination and State Power

Innis's projection of "sovereignty" and "self-determination" within the ghetto has no more substance than the fraudulent claim of South Africa's rulers that the African majority has achieved "self-determination" in the racist-dominated and encircled "homelands." In reality, Innis's call for "sovereignty" within the "natural sociological units" of the ghetto is a strategy for formalizing the racist concept of "separate but equal," camouflaged as "Community Self-Determination" for 30 million Black people.

What, one must ask, is the scientific basis for Innis's use of "self-determination"? Do Black people possess a common territory with mineral and agricultural resources? In other words, do the conditions exist in the ghettos for developing a viable economy within a common territory upon which *state power* could be established and maintained by Black people? Even to ask these questions is to expose the fantasy of "self-determination" in the ghettos.

The issue of self-determination cannot be separated from state power. In Guinea-Bissau, for example, the people—under the leadership of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC)—have, after long struggles, been able to "boot out" the Portuguese oppressor from more than 80 percent of their country's territories. They have established state power on their own common territory. Their own lands and resources are now in the hands of the people and they can, with the solidarity of the socialist countries

and all the world anti-imperialist forces, begin to develop their own viable economy as the basis for independence and social progress. Now they are in a position to strengthen the people's military forces, an arm of state power inseparable from the struggle to maintain the sovereignty of the former colonies. As of this writing, the Soviet Union and more than 40 other countries have recognized the new Republic of Guinea-Bissau, headed by Premier Luis Cabral, brother of Amilcar Cabral who was murdered by the Portuguese allies of U.S. imperialism.

Although Innis writes about "self-determination" and "sovereignty," he says nothing about state power—nothing about the fact that there can be no sovereignty without state power. The question of state power can be resolved within the territory of a former colony such as Guinea-Bissau. That is why the slogan of self-determination is applicable to Guinea-Bissau. But state power cannot be attained within the U.S. ghettos. Nor can a change in control of state power in the United States be brought about by Black people alone. The power of state monopoly capitalism prevails over this entire country. The monopolists' rule can be broken only by the power of a united front of all who are oppressed by monopoly—by a national anti-monopoly coalition, with the working class (Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American, Asian-American and white) as its foundation and leadership.

Since "self-determination" is a fantasy when the conditions for separate economic development do not exist, the issue for Black people in the United States is not the "Community Self-Determination" Innis calls for. The issue is how to break the state power which is now in the hands of monopoly. The main weapons with which monopoly maintains state power are racism and anti-Communism. Within this context, it is necessary to recognize "Community Self-Determination" for what it is—a false issue leading away from the fundamental question of forging a great anti-monopoly coalition in the United States.

What kind of "self-determination" can there be in the ghettos when the economy, territory and resources for industry and agriculture are all outside the ghetto? Even water, the most elementary necessity for life, cannot be found in the ghettos!

How closely Innis's idea of "self-determination" for the ghetto "natural sociological units" parallels the concept used by the fascist government of South Africa to rationalize the "homelands" they have set up is revealed in an interview with Dr. Nicholas Diederichs, South Africa's Finance Minister. In the interview, given to *The Sunday Nation* of Kenya while Diederichs was in Nairobi for meetings of the International Monetary Fund, and reported by *The New York Times* (October 10, 1973), Diederichs stated:

We do all we can to build up the nations in South Africa be they white or colored or black. To build them up *sociologically*, socially, educationally and economically, each in their own way. (My emphasis—H.W.)

Diederichs then went on to say:

When these African states we are now creating come into being, the Africans will be bossing those countries. . . . It is their country, in South Africa. . . . It is *separate development*. (My emphasis—H.W.)

Even *The New York Times's* correspondent, writing from Johannesburg, could not avoid admitting the impossibility of "separate development" in the apartheid reservations, which he described as follows:

. . . the so-called "homelands," or separate provinces, which critics here regard largely as eroded, broken up tracts, incapable of supporting their large designated populations.

This description is another confirmation of the comparison made between the South African racists' plans for "separate but equal" development in the "homelands" and Innis's proposals for "separate but equal" "development" and "sovereignty" within the "eroded, broken up tracts" comprising U.S. ghettos.

The *Times's* correspondent also comments on the conditions of South African workers:

The very low wage figures of black workers do not tell the whole story of their misery. For the migratory system requires millions of workers to leave their families in the "homelands," and they cannot send home enough money to prevent widespread malnutrition.

The racist minority in South Africa has a vested interest in perpetuating these conditions responsible for the inequality, the misery of the African majority. U.S. monopolists—who play a decisive role in maintaining this system in South Africa—also have a vested interest in perpetuating the conditions responsible for the misery and inequality of Blacks in this country. CORE's "Community Self-Determination" concept fits into the aim of the monopolist offensive against the Black liberation movement: to prevent Blacks and other oppressed minorities from gaining equality and joint control—along with the exploited white working majority—of the total economy.

"Clear Advantage" To Whom?

Black people have an investment of over three centuries of life and blood in this total economy, now totally controlled by monopoly capital.

The path to Black liberation lies in the struggles for joint control of this economy by all the oppressed and exploited. But Innis's "Community Self-Determination" concept would divert Black people away from an anti-monopoly fight. Presumably designed to serve the interests of Black people, the "Community Self-Determination Bill" clearly serves an entirely different purpose:

. . . gaining managerial control [writes Innis] of the institutions functioning in black areas provides an immediate way of creating guaranteed markets. It will give black people the chance and the ability to satisfy a demand and offer them a clear advantage. (*The Afro-American*, *ibid.*)

If one is to determine to whom Innis's proposals offer "a clear advantage," it is necessary to analyze the meaning of "gaining managerial control of the institutions functioning in black areas." Which institutions? The monopoly-controlled chain stores, banks and utilities? The governmental institutions—schools, hospitals, police?

Let's look first at the question of "managerial control" of monopoly-owned institutions. There is a matter of jobs involved here, and certainly an end must be put to job discrimination in every category, in and out of the ghetto, for Blacks. But any manager, Black or white, who thinks management of a branch of a monopoly-owned supermarket, bank or public utility will lead to ownership of that institution is in a sadly deluded state indeed. As for the jobs themselves, one must distinguish between what is involved in managing a supermarket as compared to a bank, since the prime duty of a ghetto bank manager is to encourage Black people to believe they "have a friend at Chase Manhattan," or the Bank of America, etc.—the same "friends" who control most ghetto real estate and who also have a vast "friendly" stake in fascist apartheid in South Africa.

As for governmental institutions, certainly Black people must be represented in them at all levels, in elected, appointed and job capacities. This means that Black people must be in a position to exert maximum influence on governmental institutions not only in the ghetto but city-wide, statewide, nationally. To win decent health and educational facilities (Harlem, unlike any white community of its size, does not have even *one* high school!), maximum power must be exerted within and far beyond the ghetto. And to put an end to police brutality and the other outrageous violations of police power in the ghetto requires pressure going far beyond the local precinct!

Obviously, "control" is related to much more than "markets." Nevertheless, Innis's conception of markets is a misleading one. When he states that "gaining managerial control" will provide "an immediate

way of creating guaranteed markets," he speaks as though ghetto "markets" are separate from the total economy. He talks as if the market for Blacks is determined by who manages a particular branch of monopoly in the ghetto. And by ignoring the fact that all but a tiny fraction of Black people's total income results from jobs outside the ghetto, he makes it appear that there is no relationship between market and income!

In asserting that "gaining managerial control" would be an "immediate way of creating guaranteed markets," Innis also obscures the fact that in every society the nature and size of the market, consumption and distribution, are determined by the *class* character of production. In obscuring this fact, Innis compounds his fiction of "community control"; he makes it appear that "managerial control" over monopoly's ghetto institutions would serve the people instead of the corporate giants controlling production, distribution and consumption in all parts of the country, including the ghettos. Innis's proposals would, at best, provide jobs for a few select Blacks in what he calls "managerial" positions, leaving unsolved the fundamental question of jobs and economic equality for the Black masses.

Therefore, Innis's proposals would provide a "clear advantage" only to the monopolists who own the principal instruments of production in auto, steel, transportation, etc.—who in fact own or control everything upon which the jobs and incomes of the overwhelming majority of Black people and all other segments of the working people depend. And Innis's proposal would in reality not offer an "advantage" even to that small minority of Blacks for whom he presumes to speak. It would instead be a "clear advantage" to this minority to support a course of struggle against monopoly, rather than offer themselves only as its "managerial" servants in the Black communities.

As another facet of an approach that serves monopoly instead of the people, Innis fails to distinguish between monopoly's institutions and the people's institutions inside the ghetto. But it is these people's institutions—as part of a wider movement combining struggles within and outside the ghetto—that are essential to liberation.

The destiny of Black people will not be determined by a minority with the goal of becoming "managerial" servants of monopoly capital in the ghetto, but by the millions of Black workers in auto, steel, transportation and other industries fighting against job and pay inequality, and the millions of Blacks of all ages who can meet their crucial needs only by a strategic struggle relating to the monopoly-controlled industries and the government of state monopoly capitalism outside the

ghettos. This is the only alternative that will give "black people the chance and the ability to satisfy a demand and offer them a clear advantage."

"Managerial" Service to Monopoly

Innis's approach would perform a "managerial" service to monopoly by separating Black workers and the entire Black people from the anti-monopoly struggles. When Innis asks the Black people to put their support behind his "Community Self-Determination" goal, he is telling Black workers to give up the struggle against the monopolists who rob them at the point of production, and instead, to fall in behind those Blacks who aim to manage the affairs of these same monopolists within the Black communities. He is, in other words, telling Black people to accept the leadership of the Black bourgeoisie, which is primarily concerned only with its own narrow interests.

That Innis's proposals offer a perspective only for a small minority of Blacks willing to serve monopoly's interests in the Black community is additionally confirmed when he writes:

It is obvious that nobody can compete with black people in the area of supplying services to their own communities.

The primary reason that this will work is because it provides a pragmatic means of diffusing the catastrophic confrontation course upon which the U.S. is currently embarked.

This statement can only be described as a "pragmatic means" for informing the monopolists that it is to their "clear advantage" to assign a small minority of Blacks the exclusive "managerial" franchise for "supplying services" to the Black community—that this will, in fact, provide the "means for diffusing" the Black liberation movement, by leading it away from an alliance with non-Black masses to win control of monopoly institutions that dominate life in and out of the ghetto.

Innis describes his proposal as:

... a solid, well-planned step toward the reorganization and redefinition of the relationship of black people with white America. It provides the means through which coexistence and tranquility can be guaranteed.

Certainly the struggle against oppression requires "reorganization" of the oppressed and exploited of all colors—into a multi-racial, anti-monopoly coalition. But this is not the "redefinition" Innis calls for.

Instead, he asks for "coexistence" with racism, for "tranquility"—not struggle against racist institutions, relationships and practices.

"I Am Not Saying—As Are the Revolutionaries . . ."

There appears to be no end to the lengths to which Innis will go to assure the monopolists that he will not join in a movement to challenge their control. He writes:

I am not saying—as are the revolutionaries—that black people will change white institutions. I am not saying that black people want to reform the entire economic system under which the majority has flourished.

I am saying, however, that we want to be able to control our own destiny. . . . We want to do this by creating our own institutions, quite apart from white institutions.

This does not really conflict with the vital interest of whites.

Isn't it strange that a Black man, professing to speak for the interests of his people, would assure the monopolists he has absolutely no intention of calling for any "change" in the institutions they control? It is not "the majority" that "has flourished" through these racist institutions, but a small minority. It is through these institutions—which, according to Innis, should be allowed to conduct business as usual—that the white majority is exploited, while the Black, brown, Native American and Asian-American minorities are oppressed and exploited.

Innis asserts that his proposals do not "conflict with the vital interest of whites." But one must ask, which whites? Certainly, they do not "conflict with the vital interest" of the white monopolists (and by placing the question as he does, Innis again attempts to camouflage them by their color). And if these proposals do not "conflict with the vital interest" of the monopolists, they most assuredly *do* "conflict with the vital interest" of the Black working class whose interests, in turn, correspond most fully and consistently with those of the entire Black people.

Innis asserts that he does not want to change or even reform "the entire economic system," claiming that Black people can "control their own destiny" through "self-determination" in the ghettos, "quite apart from" the "entire economic system." But he fails to show how his proposals for "self-determination" in the ghettos would enable Black people to "control our own destiny"—any more than fascist-imposed

"self-determination" in South Africa's Bantu "homelands" has enabled the African majority to determine their "own destiny" "quite apart from" the "entire economic system" and "institutions" of South Africa.

Keeping Black people "quite apart from" the "entire economic system"—except as a source of super-profits—is central to the policies of the white minority controlling this country. In describing his aim of separating Black people from their just claim on the entire economic system, Innis gives the dominant forces of racism and reaction additional assurance that his proposals do not "conflict with" their "vital interest":

When the black population of America ceases to relate to the larger nation as a dependent and as a colonized people and begins to assert power through institutional control of capital instruments, the black "internal colonies" will then in fact be a "nation within a nation." It will then be necessary to redistribute power proportionally and to redefine the social relationship between the citizens of both nations—that is, between blacks and whites.

After rejecting the fact that Black people have a rightful claim on the total economy, on the "instruments" of capital—the resources, industry and economy of the entire country—Innis talks of beginning "to assert power through institutional control of capital instruments." But what "capital instruments" of any consequence are or would ever be available to Black people within the ghetto "natural sociological units"—separate and "quite apart" from the total economic system? Who controls the gas, electricity, the communications systems and even water? Innis talks about "control" of the "instruments" of economic existence in the ghetto when these "instruments" are all outside the ghetto—and all owned by the corporate giants who control the total economy.

It is correct to say that it will "be necessary to redistribute power proportionally and to redefine the social relationship" between "blacks and whites." But this objective will never be won if it is regarded as having no immediate relationship to the vital interests of Black people, but merely as something to be postponed to the day when Black people succeed in doing the impossible, i.e., turning the barren ghetto "natural sociological units" without the conditions for nationhood into "a nation within a nation."

To determine their destiny, it is essential for Black people to control every possible instrumentality and institution for self-organization in the ghetto, and to fight for change through trade unions and every other possible type of organization outside the ghetto to "redistribute power proportionally and to redefine the social relationship" between Blacks and non-Blacks. This ghetto-based power of Black people must simulta-

neously be used to exert maximum pressure at every level of government, industry, politics, education, etc., and to engage in joint action with allies at every point of mutual interest. This approach must be central to the strategy of the Black liberation movement *now*; it must not be postponed, as Innis advises, until "self-determination" and "sovereignty" are achieved in the ghettos—which would be never. Moreover, this struggle should have as its goal not the illusion of "control of capital instruments" within the ghetto and "quite apart from" the "entire economic system." Its goal must be to break the monopolists' control of the "capital instruments" of the entire country.

But Innis aims to keep the Black liberation movement "quite apart" from the fight to "assert power"—i.e., to "boot out" the oppressor controlling the "capital instruments" of the "entire economic system." It is only too evident that Innis's politics offer no challenge to "the catastrophic confrontation course upon which the U.S. is currently embarked." His approach would contribute toward "diffusing" the struggle "to redistribute power proportionally," instead of helping "to redefine" the relationships in this country to bring about racism's end.

In the Most Strategic Sectors of National Economy

Almost 10 percent of the Black population now work in the most strategic sectors of the national economy, especially steel, mining, auto and transportation. (Millions of others are denied jobs in the construction industries.) In addition to the 10 percent who form a vital part of the most strategically placed section of the working class, the overwhelming majority of Black people work—when they can get work—outside the ghetto, within the total national economy.

Therefore, when Innis informs both the monopolists and their racist labor lieutenants that he is not concerned with changing either the "institutions" or the "entire economic system," he abandons the Black working class. Black workers are among the most militant in the expanding movement to sweep aside the Meanys who are blocking the struggle to end racist and anti-Communist practices in the labor movement. Black workers are playing a leading role in this movement because they recognize that they cannot defend their interests "quite apart from" the "entire economic system." Black workers are becoming increasingly aware that their destiny and that of Black people as a whole is bound up with a united struggle of all workers, Black and non-Black, to win control from the corporate giants who exploit and oppress the majority of all colors.

When Innis disclaims all interest in changing the "institutions" of

this country, he is in effect endorsing the status quo in racist-dominated unions. But Black workers, along with increasing numbers of workers of all colors, are struggling to break the control of the employers and the Meanys over these unions, and to transform them into basic instruments of the working class in the struggle against monopoly.

Certain Parallel Implications

In South Africa, the so-called Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, establishing apartheid reservations in the name of "self-determination," was preceded first by the "Suppression of Communism Act"—the key to the repression of opposition to fascist-imposed apartheid—and then by the "Population Registration Act," the foundation of racial separation of Black, Colored, Asian and white.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that CORE first projected its "Community Self-Determination Bill" in 1968, at a time when reaction was beginning to give renewed impetus to the McCarthyite, racist, anti-Communist measures challenged by a decade of civil rights struggles. Now, in 1973, when these attacks on the people's struggles have reached a still sharper, Nixon-Watergate level, Innis is reviving this bill.

There are still other parallel implications between the "Bantu Self-Government Act" and the logic of Innis's "Community Self-Determination Bill." Passage of the "Bantu Self-Government Act" abolished the "Native Representation Act," eliminating even the token representation of the Black majority in the Parliament of South Africa. Just when the level of mass struggle was reaching the point where it would have been reflected in their increased representation—aiming at Black African majority control of their own country—every semblance of representation was wiped out in the name of "self-determination" in the apartheid "homelands."

In the United States, CORE's "Community Self-Determination Bill" is of assistance to the racist monopolists and their political servants who would turn back the advance in Black representation in Congress and other levels of government.

Innis's call for ghetto "self-determination" offers a "clear advantage" to the monopolists. While it is a fantasy alternative for Black people, it is a *real* asset to the monopolists. The propaganda campaign behind Innis's "Community Self-Determination Bill" is a most valuable "managerial" service to the corporate giants because it creates a diversion from a winning strategy.

In South Africa, behind the fantasy of "self-determination" in the "homelands," the reality of increased separation of the Black African

majority from the Colored, Indian and Asian minorities was imposed—in order to sidetrack the struggle of the oppressed for control of the entire country and its economy.

CORE's call for "Community Self-Determination" in the ghettos is a U.S. adaptation of the South African strategy which keeps a white racist minority in power through racial separation. In the United States, CORE's approach would intensify and fix—instead of helping to overcome—the division between the oppressed and exploited Black minority and the exploited white majority. It would also increase division between Blacks and the other oppressed minorities. Innis's proposal would, in sum, divert from the only liberating strategy: a united anti-monopoly struggle for control of the national economy. Only the joint control of the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American minorities with the white majority can win the battle against poverty, exploitation and oppression. This is the only strategy which can "boot out the oppressor" and establish people's control of the entire economy.

Education for Liberation Not Subservience

The Black Experience at Harvard," an article by Martin Kilson, a Black professor of government at Harvard (*New York Times Magazine*, September 2, 1973, adapted from a two-part series in *The Harvard Bulletin*) is clearly ominous in relation to its most immediate target, Black college students. It serves as a signal to non-Black colleges throughout the country to open up on Black students to see that they "stay in their place" on campus—while making it tougher for them to get there at all and tougher in every way to remain there.

The impact of this article goes far beyond the student sector and is, in fact, directed against Black people as a whole. It followed a publication route similar to that of the notorious Jensen article—the ruling class's up-to-date version of the age-old racist myth of Black "inferiority"—which appeared first in the *Harvard Educational Review* and then in the *New York Times Magazine*. Coming at a time when the monopolists have made a transition from "benign neglect" to malign attack, Kilson's article, key point by key point, parallels their strategy against the Black liberation movement at home and the liberation movements in Africa. For instance:

- At a time when the monopolists are trying to make the ghetto an evermore impenetrable prison for Black people, Kilson demands an end to the admission of ghetto youth to "elite" universities—and advocates limiting Black admissions to middle-class youth.
- At a time when the monopolists have used all available means to destroy the growing solidarity of Black people—from the assassination

of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and the imprisonment of Angela Davis to ideological diversions disseminated on a mass scale—Kilson applauds what he calls “cracks” in “the black-solidarity wall” on campuses—in an article that will be read by virtually every college administrator in the country.

- At a time when the monopolists intensify their drive against Black political power as part of their offensive against the formation of a people’s anti-monopoly coalition, Kilson attacks the “politization” of Black students.

- At a time when the Nixon administration, in order to facilitate its cut-back of funds for anti-poverty programs, has revived on a super-scale the ancient stereotype of “lazy Blacks” who enjoy being on welfare, Kilson decries “the serious waste of scarce university resources” on “ill-suited Negro students.”

- At a time when the mass media have created an identification of Black militance with crime and drugs, Kilson tells us that “the most zealous militants” on campus have established “bizarre standards of ‘blackness’ (including drug culture and criminal acts).”

- At a time when Black colleges should be expanded—but instead must fight for their very existence because the monopolists are trying to undermine them—Kilson in effect dismisses them, stating that “70 percent of all blacks now in college attend white institutions . . .” (“Black Experience at Harvard,” *ibid.*)

Kilson’s article, in short, parallels the master class’s master strategy against the Black liberation movement—and calls for close analysis.

Behind the “Crisis”

At “most major white colleges,” writes Kilson, “black students have reached a crisis, one that has coincided with their rising enrollments and one that has been created in large measure by black separatism and militancy.”

In other words, Black students face a “crisis” not because there are too few of them (and too few Black administrators and faculty members)—but because there are too many of them. And the problems they ceaselessly encounter stem not from institutionalized racism—but from their attempts to deal with it. Nor is the crisis caused by racism. Instead, the students’ *reaction* is designated the *cause*, and described as “black militancy and separatism”—terms which Kilson equates (just, as we shall see, as he uses “black solidarity” and “separatism” interchangeably).

The “gnawing ambivalence of loyalty experienced by Negro stu-

dents,” continues Kilson, “forced to choose between their sub-community and the university in general and the resulting black-white tension have all combined to have a nearly disastrous impact on the academic achievement and intellectual growth of Negro students. While the all-black behavioral paradigm may have its strategic value in the inner city, it is a failure on campus.”

Perhaps Kilson feels a “gnawing ambivalence of loyalty” in identifying with the interests of the white monopolists instead of the Black masses. But the Black students he attacks have no such problem! They have clearly demonstrated that their choice is not “the university in general”—which reflects the interests of the racist ruling class—but Black solidarity. The Black students’ refusal to give in to university pressures for conformity to patterns of “integrationism”—i.e., tokenism—has, according to Kilson, created a “nearly disastrous impact” on their own “achievement and intellectual growth—which would apparently flourish if pursued in harmony with the racist status quo!

Kilson also tries to keep Black solidarity “in its place” when he states that it “may have its strategic value in the inner city,” but “is a failure on campus.” In asserting that what may be good for “the inner city” is bad for “the campus,” Kilson reveals a disdain for the Black masses.

The Black students, in their attempt to create Black solidarity—even when this mistakenly assumes a separatist form—are seeking to maintain their ties with the Black masses. Their aim is to use their university education to advance Black liberation instead of pursuing the individual “success solution” that monopoly capital—trying to contain the pressure from the Black masses—permits for token Blacks.

Kilson, striving to make Black university students regard themselves as an elite, does not take a negative view of separatism when it involves separation of Black students and intellectuals from the Black masses. On the contrary, he advocates it. And there are other forms of “separatism” which Kilson pursues.

For instance, he separates “black-white tension” from racism—and links it instead with Black people’s rejection of racism. He separates the problems Black students face in attaining “academic achievement” from the inferior elementary and high school education they received. He separates “academic achievement” from the racism that confronts them in the form of administrators, professors and students. He separates it from the difficulties they encounter in finding housing and establishing a social life on campus. He separates it from the economic pressures they face.

For Kilson, “academic achievement” is unrelated to the contradic-

tion that Black students see between the university curriculum (except for isolated and limited Black Studies departments) and their deep desire to contribute to Black liberation. They are determined not to go the route of some Black intellectuals and professionals of the past who returned from universities separated from their people.

At the same time, Black students are well aware that they can graduate from Harvard or some other "elite" university and proceed to a future of low-paying dead-end jobs—or unemployment. This is the crisis Black students face—but Kilson directs his fire at their attempts to solve these multiple problems, while ignoring the problems themselves.

That these problems have changed little from those faced by Black graduates of years past is confirmed in a recent article in *The New York Times* (September 10, 1973), by Paul Delaney, on a Department of Labor-sponsored study of Black professionals with majors in science, business administration, engineering and law.

Described as "the first attempt to investigate what happened to black male college graduates after they joined a white company" with 100 or more employees, the study first of all reveals that a total of only 5,000 Blacks are with such companies in a "professional" capacity.

"The survey," relates Delaney, "found that while blacks were confident of their ability to perform as well as their white colleagues, they nevertheless exhibited a marked pessimism about their opportunities. 'They felt [the positions] they already occupied were quite poor,' the report stated."

That this feeling is only too well founded is "confirmed by . . . the tendency of salaries to reach a plateau at about the ninth year of service, and the very small number of respondents in supervisory and managerial positions." In addition ". . . there is an effective ceiling on black advancement in business, together with a limit on the kinds of jobs for which they are accepted." Using average salaries as the gauge for advancement, the survey found they were approximately the same for men with 15 years or more of employment as for those with only 9 or 10 years.

"Dispersal . . . Throughout the Nooks and Crannies"

Kilson looks back with nostalgia to the days when "there were seldom more than 50 Negroes" at Harvard. While "individual Negroes participated in all-black relationships, like Greek-letter Negro fraternities" (he doesn't mention all-white fraternities and what they did to stay that way!), there was "a dispersal of the small number of Negro

students throughout the nooks and crannies of Harvard College." (Kilson, "Black Experience at Harvard." Emphasis in the original—H.W.)

"Dispersal"—this is what Kilson counterposes to Black solidarity! But Black students—like the masses of Black people—are sick and tired of being "dispersed" in the "nooks and crannies" of a racist society. And Black solidarity—as part of a broad multi-racial, anti-monopoly coalition—is what will bring Black people out of the "nooks and crannies" of the ghettos, the "nooks and crannies" of dirty, low-paid jobs, the "nooks and crannies" of prisons and dilapidated housing in which racism has imprisoned them.

During the years when there was a "dispersal" of the few Black students at Harvard, Kilson continues, "their academic and intellectual patterns were not markedly different from their white peers." Kilson's evaluation of the Black students of yesterday is no more accurate than his views on Black students today. Of course, there were some in the past who shared his views and no doubt there are still a few today. But the majority of yesterday's Black students were also seeking ways to end oppression—which made their "intellectual patterns" markedly different from most of their "white peers" at Harvard. How, for example, can the "academic and intellectual patterns" of such an outstanding Black Harvard graduate as Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., who was a national leader of the Communist Party and a New York City Councilman, be compared with his "white peers" at Harvard—the sons of monopolists, who conformed to the status quo?

Today's militant Black students, whether or not they share his Marxist-Leninist outlook, do share the legacy of Ben Davis's rejection of Harvard's "academic and intellectual patterns"—and his convictions that conformity to such "patterns" leads not to liberation from racist oppression but its continuation!

Kilson's nostalgia for a past Harvard becomes even more questionable when he admits, for instance, that the Black students who began to enter that university in the late sixties had to overcome "nearly a century of racial and sociological barriers to a sizable black presence at Harvard."

Harvard was founded in 1636, so the barriers have been up for somewhat longer than "nearly a century." Although these barriers are still up (according to Kilson there are 600 Black students at Harvard—but he doesn't mention that the total student body is 22,000), one might imagine that Kilson would find something admirable in a generation of Black students who have made an impact against them. But such is not the case.

"Militancy and Political Threats"

"Militancy and political threats perpetrated by Negro students," declares Kilson, speaking about Black people in the language of the racist mass media, "paved the way for major alterations in Harvard's recruiting and admission policies."

Certainly the "militancy" of Black students (which Kilson equates with "threats") was a vital factor in winning the admission of larger—though still token—numbers of Blacks to "major white colleges." Nevertheless, these gains did not come about as a result of isolated student activity. These advances were won during the historic struggles of the Civil Rights decade, the mass anti-war movement, and student protest activity as a whole—particularly, of course, where white students joined in Black-initiated actions against racist admissions policies.

Kilson's distorted conception of the way in which increased Black student admissions came about quite logically carries over to his view of the present phase of the campus crisis: Although a "five-fold increase in black enrollment" was attained, "the politicization surrounding this development plagued virtually all aspects of black-white relationships, dividing blacks and whites into mutually exclusive communities."

What plagues "black-white relationships" is, of course, racism. In evading this fact, Kilson sounds like the mayor of a Southern town speaking of how fine "race relations" were before "those troublemakers from the North stirred things up."

Struggles by Black students against Harvard's centuries-old racist barriers have not by any stretch of the imagination divided "blacks and whites into mutually exclusive communities." Quite the contrary! As Kilson admits, before the actions of "militant," "politicized" Blacks, "there were seldom more than 50 Negroes" at the college. What could be more "mutually exclusive" than a community of white students attending Harvard, while the community of Black students was almost totally barred? "Militancy" and "politicization," in other words, lead in the direction of ending of "mutually exclusive communities"—that is, lily-white universities and other all-white institutions.

Now that Blacks are present at Harvard and other "major white universities" in larger—but still far from representative—numbers, Kilson would have them "disperse" as they were forced to do in the past—and "integrate" into the status quo by ones and twos.

The Black student struggles to break down racist barriers are not a thrust for such "integration" but for *equality*. Black students do not intend to "disperse," to dissolve the solidarity that made it possible for

them to enter these universities in the first place. They want to strengthen this solidarity, keep up the drive to bring more Blacks onto the campuses—and maintain their ties with the masses of Black people in the "inner city."

Black solidarity, unlike Kilson's conception of it, by no means implies separation. On the contrary, Black solidarity, properly based, is indispensable to the struggle to open up every phase of this nation's life, including all activities of the universities, to the participation on an equal basis of Black people.

"Militant Students . . . Constantly Politicizing"

Instances of "black-white tensions" on campus, says Kilson, "are legion." To illustrate his view of what causes this "tension," Kilson turns to the sports arena: "Militant Negro students, often academically marginal, supply a cheering entourage for black basketball players at Harvard, separating themselves in a section of the stands, denying white students access to this section and constantly politicizing basketball games—including an occasional brawl with white students."

In this statement Kilson most unfortunately parallels the latest racist stereotypes: Militant students are not only "academically marginal," he says, but are also responsible for the violence marring the otherwise peaceful (!) sports scene across the nation! In reading this, the proverbial visitor from Mars would never guess that a Black baseball player currently on the verge of beating the decades-old home-run record of a deceased white ball player has received so many threats to his life that he now requires the protection of a bodyguard!

(In the *New York Times Magazine* of September 16, 1973—two weeks after its publication of Kilson's article—there is a story about Babe Ruth, by *Times* sports columnist Red Smith, entitled "One of A Kind." In it, Smith relates, "All redcaps at railroad stations were [called] Stinkweed" by Ruth. Smith does not comment on the meaning of Ruth's calling Black men "Stinkweed," but instead treats this racist epithet as if it were a humorous nickname. Such "humor," Smith's attitude toward it—and the *Times's* promotion of it—are all part of the heritage and perpetuation of racism in sports and throughout this society that produce today's threats against Hank Aaron.)

Although certain actions taken by Black students who are influenced by separatist ideas are self-defeating, one must look beyond the actions themselves to their underlying causes. *When, for example, Black students try to establish claim to an area of their own, they are reacting against the pervasive racism that keeps innumerable places "off limits" to*

them. And while white students must certainly demonstrate their concern for everyone's right to sit—as well as live, eat, study and work—wherever he or she wishes, they must carry on this fight where racist exclusion exists: in the white areas of the nation.

One might think that Kilson would find something to admire in the Black students' aim at Harvard which, he admits, is "to translate their unity into greater leverage with which to influence a variety of Harvard operations such as admissions, hiring, curriculum, faculty, and so on." But, no. "Negro students who assert their individuality within this situation are reprimanded," states Kilson. To "assert one's individuality" in a matter of this kind means, of course, to stay aloof from the common effort to "influence a variety of Harvard operations" and instead, leave them to the discretion of a Harvard administration whose old school traditions include the exclusion of Blacks and sons and daughters of workers for over 300 years.

Comment must be made, however, on the concept of "leverage" presented here. Because most white students have not yet lived up to their responsibilities in the fight against racism, Black students are forced to the conclusion that "leverage" in the anti-racist struggle will come only from them. But when Black students are supported by the majority of white students, there will be enough "leverage" to begin to change the entire anti-democratic character of the universities.

Kilson, who expresses such concern when students who break the Black solidarity front are "reprimanded," is scathing in his criticism of students who support it. Nor does he hesitate when it comes to sharply "reprimanding" faculty members who back student aims—and he also resorts to one of monopoly's key weapons, anti-Communism, in doing so.

... white liberals and leftists in the faculty, seeking to expiate guilt accumulated from a century of white-supremacist treatment of Negro Americans, reinforce this situation in a variety of ways. Black studies programs, initiated by militant pressures from black students, are established with slight concern for the academic standards that prevail at Harvard generally. ("Black Experience at Harvard," op. cit.)

It is ironic that Kilson slurs the motives of whites who support Black demands, while not questioning those of the white monopolists who will do anything to block them. And in attacking "white liberals and leftists in the faculty," Kilson is helping the monopolists revive the on-and-off campus witch-hunts of the fifties that merge with Nixon's Watergate tactics of the seventies.

It is gratifying to learn that Harvard's Afro-American Studies

Department reflects "slight concern for the academic standards that prevail at Harvard generally" and at universities throughout the country—since these "academic standards" typically include history departments that omit and/or distort the role of Black people; government departments that downgrade or exclude the question of Black representation; sociology departments that slander Black people; economics departments that serve capitalism at home and neo-colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America; literature departments that exclude the work of almost all Black poets, novelists and essayists; theater departments that ignore the plays of Black writers; and faculties that, save for an occasional token here and there, have Black professors only in the Black Studies Department, if they have one.

Each of these departments has a role to play in disseminating bourgeois class and racist ideology. Thus, a major product of these university intellectual assembly lines is a massive outpouring of anti-Communism, monopoly's twin weapon to racism. With the emergence of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, as the most decisive force within the world revolutionary process—always in the front line of support to the liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America—imperialist neo-colonialist strategy has become increasingly based on the concept that perpetuation of racist oppression is more and more bound up with anti-Communism at home and internationally.

Kilson blames the problems that Black Studies departments face on "black militants" and "white liberals and leftists." In doing this, he is conceding to the heavy pressures of anti-Communism and racism focused on these departments. The very real problems Black Studies Departments face—understaffing, underfinancing, over-supervision, interference in curriculum—can all be traced to anti-Communist, racist-oriented administrations. Further, so long as the rest of the universities' curricula, faculties and administrations do not fully reflect the role and participation of Black people, Black Studies departments will be *segregated* departments—and segregation is one of the ruling class's oldest methods for walling in Black people and restricting their achievements.

Continuing his assault on Harvard's "highly politicized" Afro-American Studies Department as "the main base of operations of the black-solidarity forces," Kilson returns to a question which obsesses him: "To whom do Negro students owe primary loyalty? The demands of the black-solidarity forces or the academic and intellectual processes of Harvard College?"

To all but the tiny fraction who identify with the Black bourgeois elite, the answer is clear: Black students feel a solidarity and loyalty to the interests of the Black masses that is growing even stronger. *What*

loyalty should they feel to "academic and intellectual processes" designed to keep Black masses in the ghetto and a Black elite in the service of the U.S. monopolies at home and in Africa?

These "academic and intellectual processes" have dominated the universities of this country since their founding. Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois wrote his classic study, *Black Reconstruction in America*, published in 1935, to set history straight, to counter the racist version taught to Black and white university students. (Certainly, Kilson is aware that to this day no picture of Harvard graduate Du Bois hangs in Harvard's Widener Memorial Library—kept out by the "academic and intellectual processes" of the administration.) Du Bois stated:

The chief witness in Reconstruction, the emancipated slave himself, has been almost barred from the court. His written Reconstruction record has been largely destroyed and nearly always neglected. Only three or four states have preserved the debates in the Reconstruction conventions; there are few biographies of black leaders. . . . The result is that most unfair caricatures of Negroes have been carefully preserved; but serious speeches, successful administration and upright character are almost universally ignored and forgotten. Wherever a black head rises to historic view, it is promptly slain by an adjective—"shrewd," "notorious," "cunning"—or pilloried by a sneer; or put out of view by some quite unproven charge of bad moral character. In other words, every effort has been made to treat the Negro's part in Reconstruction with silence and contempt. (*Black Reconstruction in America*, The World Publishing Co., New York, p. 721)

At the same time, every effort has been made to hide and distort the role of whites who supported Black freedom:

Not a single great leader of the nation during the Civil War and Reconstruction has escaped attack and libel. The magnificent figures of Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens have been besmirched almost beyond recognition. (*Ibid.*, p. 723)

The monopolists are fearful of the potential which Afro-American studies departments have for helping develop a generation of Black and white students who, together, could play a major role in the struggle to make the universities function as institutions with a respect for truth. Instead of assisting the struggle to bring this about, Kilson assists the monopolists in promoting division between Black students and the Black masses, between Black and white students and white allies in general, i.e., his attitude toward "liberals" and "leftists." In other words, Kilson's role parallels the racist, anti-Communist role played by George Meany and others in the labor movement. Nevertheless, it must

be emphasized that such divisiveness can make itself felt only because the great majority of white students and the masses of white workers have not yet recognized why they must reject and fight against the racism poisoning the life of this entire nation.

"Achievement Orientation"

"Black-solidarity forces," states Kilson, "are distinctly anti-intellectual and anti-achievement in orientation . . . black students at Harvard celebrate black peers who display 'relevance' by participating in community affairs, adopting lower-class black life-styles in place of middle-class ones and posturing Black Power in relation to political issues like Harvard's Gulf Oil investments in Africa. But, alas, this is sheer fantasy. No ethnic group in American society has ever advanced its standard of living and status without accepting achievement-orientation as a desirable life-style."

How strange that Kilson would consider student opposition to Harvard's neo-colonialist "Gulf Oil investments in Africa" as "anti-intellectual"! In this opposition—as Kilson should know—Black students are following in the footsteps of the intellectual giant who blazed the path to African-Afro-American solidarity against imperialism's plunder of Africa—Harvard graduate W.E.B. Du Bois.

In their refusal to adopt elitist "life-styles" and "by participating in community affairs," Black students reveal that their "achievement orientation" is very high indeed: to be deeply identified with the Black masses in the fight to achieve Black liberation.

So far as Kilson is concerned, however, Black university students should have but one goal: to become part of a Black elite functioning either in Black-owned businesses or in varied situations on behalf of the monopolists. "Before the nineteen-sixties"—a time which apparently brings back only happy memories to Kilson—the "relatively small number of blacks who attended elite white colleges" grasped "the significance of broad interaction with the success-oriented influences in these colleges. They also recognized that these colleges play a disproportionately large role in training those Negroes who compete for leading national roles in business, science, scholarships, law . . ."

To make proper use of their college careers today, Kilson continues, Black students must have "the capacity to shun peer-group constraints to penetrate the multilayered academic, cultural and success-oriented life-styles of elite colleges like Harvard." Most Black students, however, do not want to "shun" their "peer group" in order to emulate the "success-oriented life-styles" of white upper-class students—which,

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translated into "life-styles" for Blacks, means acceptance of the status quo and pursuit of tokenism. For most Black students, success means advancing Black liberation. And this requires solidarity with their "peer group"—which is in reality the Black people as a whole.

"The Tree of Blackness"

To back up his own views toward Black students and Black Studies programs, Kilson refers to opinions allegedly expressed by Jack Daniel, Associate Professor of Black Studies and of Speech, and Chairman of the Department of Black Community Education, Research and Development, University of Pittsburgh, in "Black Academic Activism" (*The Black Scholar*, January, 1973).

Through partial quotes and unsubstantiated assertions, Kilson makes it appear that Daniel's views are in harmony with his own. But one need not agree with everything in Daniel's article (and we disagree with him on many points) to recognize that his direction is very different from Kilson's.

Kilson states, for instance, that Daniel "deplores" the "politicizing of Black studies . . ." ("Black Experience at Harvard," op. cit.) No such attitude is expressed in Daniel's article either explicitly or by implication. In fact, Daniel's views point in an opposite direction. He states, for example, "Du Bois didn't just investigate, create, and write. Du Bois took his information to the people as all true, revolutionary scholars must." ("Black Academic Activism," p. 50) While Kilson deplores "politization" and the solidarity of Black students with the Black masses, it is clear from this statement, as well as many others, that Daniel welcomes both.

Kilson then goes on to attribute the following quote to Daniel: "They [Black students] can see the Songhai and Mali empires, but are blind to the totality of history. They can't see the forest of universal knowledge for the tree of blackness." (Ibid., p. 46) Kilson does not even supply the ellipsis at the end of the last sentence to indicate that something followed in the original. But something *did* follow. This is the last sentence in its entirety: "They can't see the forest of universal knowledge for the tree of blackness *even though the tree of blackness is first priority.*" (Ibid. My emphasis—H.W.)

The "tree of blackness" does indeed have "first priority" because for centuries the U.S. ruling class has presented students on every educational level with a "forest of universal knowledge" without a "tree of blackness" and Africa as a continent without a history. At a time when pressure from the Black liberation movement has forced some

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universities to finally reveal at least a few of the branches on the vast "tree of blackness," it is more than understandable that Black students would be deeply absorbed in what has been denied them and the entire country for so long. Why they—and Black people generally—have such intense feelings in this matter is beautifully expressed in a poem called "My Song Is For All Men,"* by a Barbadian poet, Peter Blackman, who went to West Africa in 1937.

Blackman concludes the first section of his poem—in which he speaks, with bitter irony, as an African who "accepts" the caricature of Africans created by the colonialists who came to loot that continent, exploit and oppress its peoples—by stating:

I am the subman
My footprints are nowhere in history.

Then, in the second part, Blackman assumes his true identity:

This is your statement, remember, this is your assessment
I merely repeat you
Remember this too, I do not ask you to pity me
Remember this always, you cannot condescend to me
There are many other things I remember and would have you
remember as well
I smelted iron in Nubia when your generations still ploughed
with hardwood
I cast in bronze at Benin when London was marshland
I built Timbuctoo and made it a refuge for learning
when in the chairs of Oxford unlettered monks
shivered unwashed
My faith in the living mounts like a flame in my story
I am Khama the Great
I helped Bolivar enfranchise the Americas
I am Omar and his thousands who brought Spain the light of
the Prophet
I stood with my spear among the ranks of the Prempehs
And drove you far from Kumasi for more than a century
I kept you out of my coasts, and not the mosquitoes
I have won bitter battles against you and shall win them again
I am Toussaint who taught France there was no limit to liberty
I am Harriet Tubman flouting your torture to assert my faith
in man's freedom

* Appears in *You Better Believe It*, Black Verse in English, Edited by Paul Brennan, Penguin Books, 1973, Baltimore, Md.

I am Nat Turner whose daring and strength always defied you
I have my yesterdays and shall open the future widely before
me.

Whose Standards for "Scholarly Attainment"?

As part of his broadside against the Department of Afro-American Studies, Kilson claims its chairman "had no scholarly attainment to his credit." But whose standards of "scholarly attainment" does Kilson accept when he is "blind to" the historic role of the Songhai and Mali empires, when he cannot see the "tree of blackness" in the "totality of history"—even though darker-skinned people have been and remain the majority?

Kilson's assault on this department and its chairman does not, however, end at this point. He goes on to endorse the removal of students from participation in the department's academic affairs, and their replacement by an "interdepartmental faculty committee—exclusive of the Afro-American Studies Department—to select several new scholars for permanent appointments jointly in Afro-American Studies and an established department and to arrange for a successor to its present chairman." (Kilson, "Black Experience at Harvard." My emphasis—H.W.)

At a moment in history when Black people's demand for representation in every area has reached a new peak, Kilson views as progress the fact that policy determination has been taken away from a predominantly Black faculty/student group and turned over to an overwhelming white faculty group outside the department—whose first act, following the racist takeover, was to "arrange" to get rid of the Black chairman. Precisely what is the "scholarly attainment" of the members of this faculty group in the field of Black Studies? Are they familiar, for instance, with the role of white overseers in the history of Black oppression?

While the great mass of Black Americans seek ways to advance solidarity and self-organization, Kilson is constantly on the lookout for what he calls "cracks" in the "black-solidarity wall." One of the "cracks" he welcomes is, according to him, "the fact that only a few of the 600 Negro students are participating in the ideological and political programs of the Harvard Afro-American Cultural Center."

Although one must take Kilson's assertions with several large grains of salt, it is unmistakably clear that the Afro-American Cultural Center, along with the Afro-American Studies Department, faces the most severe racist and anti-Communist pressures, which Kilson's article

reflects and parallels. How can such a center flourish in an atmosphere aimed at destroying it?

Kilson does not stop even at this point in his drive against the Black students' every effort toward self-organization. He goes on to demand "the cessation of financing of black separatist behavior by white colleges"—meaning, at Harvard, the Afro-American Cultural Center. Blacks, he continues, must be required "to find the resources from their own community to support this behavior. . . . For blacks to ask the very group held responsible for black degradation to finance black solidarity is a most profound and disorienting contradiction. It is precisely this situation that distorts the perception of reality by black students at white colleges. They extrapolate from this situation to the rest of life, believing that real power will also be forthcoming without costs and sacrifice."

It is not the students whose "perception of reality" is distorted. Only pressure from Black students and the Black people as a whole has forced such concessions as Black studies programs and Afro-American cultural centers from the monopolists' representatives who administer the universities!

The struggle for such centers is on the increase. At this writing, for example, Black and non-Black students of the University of Wisconsin are carrying on a mass protest against the administration's decision to close the Afro-American and Native American cultural centers for "budgetary reasons." The protests began with sit-ins and a march by almost 2,000 students—over half of them white—behind the slogan "They say cutbacks—We say 'fightback'!"

In demanding a subsidy for an Afro-American Cultural Center, the students are only laying claim to what is rightfully theirs. In asserting that Black students must "find the resources from their own community," Kilson seems to have overlooked the glaring fact that the "resources from their own community" have been stolen from the Black people for centuries, first by the slave owners and then the monopolists. Only one who identifies his interests with the white monopolists—whether he realizes this or not—could object to their getting even a minuscule share of it back. And who but the monopolists or someone unfortunately echoing their views, could demand *more* "costs and sacrifices" from Black people!

The fight for Black Studies departments and cultural centers is part of the struggle to break down racist exclusion of Black intellectual and cultural contributions from this country's educational institutions. It is a fight that has not yet run its full course, but has forced concessions from the monopolists—which they attempt to use to blunt further advance. But from the standpoint of Black students, these concessions are

nevertheless a partial victory, to be used to continue and enlarge the struggle against racism. Yes, there are sometimes weaknesses in the way the students carry on the struggle. The problem is how to correct the weaknesses and advance the struggle.

"The Value of Academic and Intellectual Achievement"

Further policy changes at Harvard, declares Kilson, must include "a serious effort . . . to restore a belief among Negro students in the value of academic and intellectual achievement." Since his article has already written off "the tree of blackness" as unimportant to the "forest of universal knowledge," classified anti-imperialist activity in solidarity with African liberation movements as "anti-intellectual," and lauded the racist takeover of the Afro-American Studies Department, it is only too clear that his concept of "academic and intellectual achievement" coincides with that of the university administration.

However, restoring this "belief" is, according to Kilson, a problem with "two aspects: one relating to bright Negro students"—defined by him as those who score well on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)—"the other to those who enter white colleges with academic deficiencies."

By accepting SAT scores as the criterion for who is and who is not "bright," Kilson falls into the racist trap set years ago by "educators" who used IQ tests—which are a test not of intelligence but of information most readily acquired in a white bourgeois environment—to stamp Black children as inferior and therefore unworthy of receiving an equal education and other equal opportunities. (The Jensen article, titled "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?", catapulted the racist myth of Black "inferiority" out of the past right into the center of current educational "theories.") If some Black students arrive at the college level with "academic deficiencies," it is a reflection not on their "intelligence," but on the system which deliberately deprived them of a decent preparatory education.

As another step in the program to make it harder for Black students to get into universities, Kilson states that "admissions practices developed for black students over the past five years need rethinking." The "admissions practices" Kilson selects for "rethinking" are those of the only period in Harvard's almost 340-year history when its "racial and social barriers" were forced to give way in at least some degree to anti-racist pressures. Nevertheless, it is true that these practices do need

rethinking: All racist and class barriers to admission must be removed. But this is not the way Kilson sees it:

"First of all," he continues, "these practices must be depoliticized." Why? "At nearly all elite white colleges new black admissions officials, appointed under the pressure of militant Negro students, have been allowed to politicize admissions criteria as applied to Negro applications."

Surely, admissions practices were "politicized" when Black students were barred from universities, North as well as South. They reflected the racist politics of the monopolists—and they still do, although pressure has brought about some changes. But Kilson, who applauds "cracks" in the "black-solidarity wall," seems to lament "cracks" in the white supremacy wall—through which a larger, but still very small, number of Blacks enter college. The monopolists are trying to seal up these "cracks"—and Kilson, whether or not he realizes it, is assisting them—instead of joining the struggle to batter down the walls.

If SAT scores are not used as the sole criteria for admission of Black students to "white colleges" (Kilson displays no interest in admissions criteria at Black colleges), he declares that a "rigorous evaluation" must be made of these students: "They should display attitudes and habits that are conducive to high academic and intellectual achievement. They should be interested in reading, art, theater, museums, poetry or music."

Although I have already discussed Kilson's concept of "academic and intellectual achievement," there is yet another dimension to this matter: Wouldn't it be more to the point to demand that university administrations "display attitudes and habits that are conducive to high academic and intellectual achievement"—in other words, that they eliminate every trace of racism in their policies and practices?

As for Kilson's demand that Black students be required to demonstrate an interest in the arts, one must ask: Can he be unaware of the vast upsurge in theater, painting, poetry, music, dance and all the other arts by Black people? What is lacking is not Black "interest," but schools that will train Black artists, theaters that will produce their plays, museums that will display their paintings, publishers for their books, and jobs and all-around opportunities for all their performing artists. All this is overlooked by Kilson!

"Misplaced Sentimentalism"

As another part of his comprehensive program for reinforcing the admissions barriers against Black students, Kilson asserts, "Perhaps the

most important problem to surmount in admissions is the misplaced sentimentalism that is widespread among liberal white admissions officials (and black ones, too) at elite white colleges." (Again, the problem is the "liberals," the "leftists," *not* the racists!)

Despite the fact that virtually any cutback in funds hits Black students and faculty first, Kilson calls for a special one against them, stating that "the bad admissions choices stemming from this sentimentalism have resulted in a serious waste of scarce university resources."

To "back up" his claim that scholarship funds are being wasted on Black students, Kilson goes even further than most white university officials dare go in public. That is, he echoes what many administrators say about Black students in private meetings—and what the media say about them on TV, radio, in newspapers and books: "... ill-suited Negro students at elite colleges usually end up among the most zealous militants. . . ." Such students, continues Kilson, "become the arbiters of black separation at white colleges, establishing bizarre standards of 'blackness' (including drug culture and criminal acts) that the more talented Negro students are expected to follow." Thus completing a media caricature of "militant" but not-very-bright Blacks with a gun in one hand and heroin in the other. Kilson seems not to know that the white monopolists made drugs easily available to Black and white troops in Vietnam and continue to do so in the ghettos in order to *drain off militance!*

"One tragic instance," writes Kilson, "occurred at Cornell University in 1971. A highly talented 16-year-old Negro student . . . had been transformed within less than two years from a high academic achiever to a zealous separatist and criminal. As the judge observed in his report when handing down a five-year probation sentence: 'As soon as defendant became involved with the residents of the university-owned black men's co-op, he became easily led by the wrong people.'"

Clearly, the danger to Blacks, according to this, comes not from racism but from other Blacks—who, it would appear, according to Kilson, are also obviously a danger to the entire university. It also follows, therefore, that there should not be more of them on campus, but fewer. And Kilson abets the monopolists' strategy for decreasing their numbers by proposing a quota.

Kilson advocates the use of quotas, he says, "in order to overcome past racist restrictions . . . on the growth of the American Negro elites." With this statement, Kilson not only relegates racism in these institutions to the past, he also alleges that the sole purpose of racist restrictions was to keep out *elite* Blacks. But their purpose was revealed in their accomplishments: They kept out *all* Blacks. Now

Kilson advocates a quota that will, in his opinion, keep out "ghetto types," while allowing admission of members of the elite.

"Unqualified or ill-suited black applicants have often been accepted at top-rank white colleges in order to broaden the representation of what some admissions officials call 'ghetto types.' This reduces the number of middle-class Negroes in the black student body. . . . The blacks most likely to succeed in the competition at top-rank colleges must be encouraged, and if most of them happen to be middle-class (which, after all, is the case for whites, too), then so be it."

Despite Kilson's allegations, it is obvious that administration officials don't want "ghetto types"—i.e., working-class youth—in the universities. Only mass pressure has forced the admission of some. And those officials don't want too many middle-class Blacks, either. By portraying ghetto youth as "ill-suited," by writing off their abilities, Kilson helps the administration limit the number of middle-class Blacks to be accepted as well—because the great mass of Black youth removed from consideration would leave the middle class isolated, without ties or backing.

Behind Kilson's facade of words about assisting the "growth of the American Negro elites" (Kilson's language, not mine—H.W.), lies the unfortunate fact that the quota system he proposes is equivalent to the one the racist monopolists have used for so many decades to restrict admission of Black and other minority youth. Kilson's quota would affect not only working-class Black youth adversely, but middle-class youth as well, because it would limit admissions to those conforming to a policy of tokenism, which flows from racism and would be used to blunt struggles for equality. (Kilson's quoted proposal brings to mind a little-known fact in the racist history of education: Dartmouth College was founded to train Indians. Who is aware of that now? Instead of helping to open the universities today to Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and other minorities, Kilson's views are of assistance to the corporate monopolists, who would like to bring about their forced disappearance from Harvard and all other universities, just as Native Americans were forced out of an institution supposedly founded for them.)

As for those Kilson refers to as "ill-suited Black youths (i.e., those who do not score well on the SAT, either they would be kept out of college altogether or, as revealed by Kilson in the following statement, sent to Black colleges: "Some 70 percent of all blacks now in college attend white institutions, and the brightest black students are in top-rank colleges." This remark not only downgrades Black colleges, but also amounts to an attempt to return them to the Booker T.

Washington concept, of Black colleges offering a strictly limited education.

Kilson's views toward Black colleges lead in a two-fold direction: to accommodation to racism within predominantly white colleges, and to surrender to monopoly pressure to undermine Black colleges. Because of his elitist attitude toward the masses, Kilson has no confidence in struggle. This is why he despairs of change and has apparently opted to play the contemporary Booker T. Washington role. On the other hand, the confidence Du Bois—who opposed Washington's ideas—had in the masses continued to deepen, leading him to a Marxist-Leninist outlook and membership in the Communist Party.

The fight to transform the "academic and intellectual processes" calls for joint struggle of Black and white students and faculty members, and must be pressed on two fronts: as a fight for truth in education and for equality for Blacks in the majority colleges, and as a struggle for full and equal support to Black colleges.

Every white person concerned about the nation's most dangerous pollutant—racism—must realize that a real perspective for the transformation of education must advance the struggle for unrestricted admission of Blacks into the majority colleges and for saving and expanding Black colleges. Black colleges not only have a role to play in educating Black people, as they have done for generations, but they must also be seen as exceptionally vital institutions for educating whites. Since these colleges are not permeated with racism, the white students' education would already be off to a head start over that offered at the majority colleges.

Dr. Du Bois vividly illustrated this fact in the following passage contrasting his educational experience at Fisk University with that at Harvard:

At Fisk, the problem of race was faced openly and essential racial equality asserted and natural inferiority strenuously denied. In some cases the teachers expressed this theory; in most cases the student opinion naturally forced it. At Harvard, on the other hand, I began to face scientific race dogma: first of all, evolution and the "Survival of the Fittest." It was continually stressed in the community and in classes that there was a vast difference in the development of the whites and the "lower" races; that this could be seen in the physical development of the Negro. I remember once in a museum, coming face to face with a demonstration: a series of skeletons arranged from a monkey to a tall well-developed white man, with a Negro barely outranking a chimpanzee. (*Dusk of Dawn*, by W.E.B. Du Bois, Schocken Books, New York, first Schocken edition, 1968, pp. 97-98)

In his graduate studies Du Bois encountered a variation of racism in education—identical at Harvard and in Germany, where it prepared the ground for Nazi ideology:

In the graduate school at Harvard and again in Germany, the emphasis again was altered, and race became a matter of culture and cultural history. The history of the world was paraded before the observation of students. Which was the superior race? Manifestly that which had a history, the white race; there was some mention of Asiatic culture, but no course in Chinese or Indian history or culture was offered at Harvard, and quite unanimously in America and Germany, Africa was left without culture and without history. (*Ibid.*, p. 98)

Proud of "Maladjustment" to Monopoly's Plans

What is needed are not quotas—which are an "effective ceiling" on university admissions—but a *ground floor*. There must be a truly representative minimum enrollment for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans and Native Americans—but no ceiling. The mass united struggle of Black, white, brown, yellow and red peoples required to bring about this democratization of the universities would simultaneously open up new opportunities for university education to white working-class youth.

In urging that the universities limit Black admissions to an elite, Kilson objectively assists the monopolists in their aim of producing a "crack" in the wall of solidarity between Black students and the Black masses. It is no accident that *The New York Times* publishes this article at a time when Black students, Black workers and Black people generally are reaching a new high in understanding that solidarity with their African brothers and sisters against neo-colonialism is bound up with the struggle for Black liberation in the heartland of world imperialism. And despite what Kilson's own intentions may have been, it must be recognized that his article is of assistance to the monopolists' strategy of dispersing the Black liberation movement at home, while it aims at pushing the African peoples back into the "nooks and crannies" of colonial oppression from which they are struggling to emerge.

In his final paragraph, Kilson states, "It is imperative that the maladjustment of Negro students to the achievement and success-oriented life-styles of white colleges be corrected." ("Black Experience at Harvard," *op. cit.*) The Black students are rightly proud of their "maladjustment" to the monopolists' plans to allow a token number of

them to "integrate" into this racist system in order to help perpetuate it.

Black students owe no loyalty to the "university in general" and what it stands for. Their loyalty belongs to their people, to the fight to change the present-day standards of "academic and intellectual achievement" to conform to the needs of thirty million Black people as a vital part of the struggle for democratic advance for *all* the people of this country. This struggle for democratic advance also calls for the loyalty and support of all white students who want to transform the quality of life—on and off the campuses of the nation.

For a People's Alternative

*T*hat the present situation in this country demands a mass people's party is beyond question. Formation of such a party must become a top priority concern for all seeking a way out of the monopoly-imposed crisis of existence for the working class and, especially, the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American minorities—in fact, a crisis so all-pervasive it encompasses not only the working masses but every social stratum outside monopoly's ranks.

The current situation demands unity around a program that will unleash the potential for struggle of every possible anti-monopoly current—multiple and varied in class and social character—to speed formation of a mass people's party as an alternative to monopoly's two-party system. Past or present differences must not be allowed to become an obstacle to unity around such an anti-monopoly program.

Within this context, "An Open Letter to Activists and Organizers of the Present and Past on the Need for a Mass Party of the People," has been issued by a group called The National Interim Committee for a Mass Party of the People. Among the members of the group, mostly professionals, are Arthur Kinoy of the National Lawyers' Guild, and leaders or members of a variety of other organizations, including the New American Movement.

Regretfully, the perspective offered by the "Open Letter" (it includes no program) does not correspond to the necessity for a unifying strategy and policies for a mass alternative to monopoly's two parties of racism and reaction. The 20-page "Open Letter" is an

abridgement of a much longer document by Arthur Kinoy; although modified in some respects from the original, it retains its key features.

It is really unfortunate that after months of discussion by the National Interim Committee of a document in which Kinoy warns the U.S. left against "imported models," the "Open Letter" takes its ideological direction from an "imported model" of French origin, derived especially, as we shall see, from Roger Garaudy's writings. Not only does this "imported model" fail to run in an anti-monopoly direction in the United States; it has already been rejected by the working class in the country of its origin.

"Urgently Required Solution"

The "Open Letter" states:

A society in which the natural resources, accumulated forces of production and creative energies of the people are at the services of the people's needs—a socialist society—has been the dream of the most advanced thinkers of every important social movement in the country's history: the abolitionists, the first organizers of trade unions, the leaders of the early movements for women's rights, and many others. Today fulfillment of that dream is on the current agenda of history—the crisis of the system has thrown it forward as the urgently required solution to the immediate problems of daily life. Nonetheless, we activists and organizers and everyone concerned for the present and future must face a harsh truth: a socialist solution to the crisis of American capitalism and imperialism is not the immediately inevitable alternative. ("Open Letter," p. 2)

The reference of the "Open Letter" to the "abolitionists" and "the first organizers of trade unions" is apt indeed, because these "most advanced thinkers" of their time, influenced by Frederick Douglass and Karl Marx, recognized that the "urgently required solution to the crisis" of their time—slavery—depended on the widest possible realignment of forces within a strategy to break the slave power's domination of national government. But the "Open Letter" fails to make the connection between the historic experience and the "urgently required solution to the crisis" today.

Bypassed by the "Open Letter" is today's historic necessity to link the future abolition of capitalist wage slavery with the immediate struggle imperative of building a people's alternative to monopoly domination through its two-party system. This alternative—a mass party based on the leadership of the multi-racial working class within the framework of a great anti-monopoly formation—is the only strate-

gic alternative to racism, repression, poverty and war; it is the strategy for linking the fight for the "urgently required solution to the immediate problems of daily life" with the fight for the future revolutionary transition to socialism. However, the "Open Letter" appears unable to distinguish between immediate and ultimate goals for its projected mass party, and does in fact change its mind as to which is which from one page to another.

For instance, on page 2 the "Open Letter" states, "a socialist solution to the crisis of American capitalism and imperialism is not the immediately inevitable alternative." But two pages later, the "Open Letter" asserts that its proposed mass party would have as its "fundamental program for this era the transfer of power from the capitalist state and the corporations to the people." Since the "transfer of power" is not the "immediately inevitable alternative," how would it take place? By conjuring into existence through an impossible act of voluntarism a new "historical bloc" to make a "great leap forward"?

Apparently so, because the "Open Letter" goes on to assert that "the taking of political, economic and social control is a serious and realistic objective . . . we are organizing now the political instrumentality to reach this goal." (Ibid., p. 6) And, clearly, this "political instrumentality" is one that would substitute Roger Garaudy's "historical bloc" for a strategy of working-class leadership of a wide movement against monopoly. The "Open Letter" concept of a "political instrumentality" is based on a revision of Marxist-Leninist ideas of the role of the working class, particularly basic production workers, in the struggle around immediate issues and for the goal of scientific socialism. This concept accounts for the "Open Letter"'s ambiguity regarding immediate and ultimate goals, and thus diverts from both—since ultimate goals will be won from struggle developing out of immediate issues within an anti-monopoly strategy.

The "Open Letter"'s ambiguity is reflected not only in its swing from questioning whether socialism is an "immediately inevitable alternative" to projecting an "immediate" outlook for "transfer of power," i.e., making the transition to socialism. Its ambiguity is also revealed in its projection of another "immediate alternative": "In their desperate efforts to retain control, those in power will undoubtedly turn to the classic last resort of 20th century capitalism, the attempt to impose a relatively open terrorist dictatorship . . ." (Ibid., p. 3). Therefore, according to the document, the "immediately inevitable alternative" is either socialism or fascism.

But the "alternative" is not fascism or socialism. Today's alternative is either fascism or democracy. The false choice posed by the "Open

Letter," reflecting a fatalist acceptance of the "inevitability" of fascism, also flows from its adoption of Garaudy's concept of a "new historic bloc," which diverts from an anti-monopoly strategy. What is required to fight every step that could lead to fascism and war is a great new anti-monopoly formation headed by the working class, the only strategy to advance the struggle for "transfer of power."

"Group" or Class?

The "Open Letter" describes its proposed "political instrumentality" for "the taking of political, economic and social control" as "a new historical bloc which unifies the struggles of all sectors of the working class with those of all other oppressed groups. Such an historical bloc must rest first and foremost on the working class." (Ibid., p. 7. Emphasis in the original.)

Despite this assertion, it soon becomes apparent that the adherents of Garaudy's "new historical bloc" idea reject the Marxist concept of the working class by denying the decisive role of basic production workers in unifying the workers and oppressed. The "Open Letter" states:

The party must carefully analyze the expanding nature of the working class in the 20th century. Not only blue collar workers but, for instance, white collar workers in service occupations and government technicians, people on welfare, unpaid workers in the home, prisoners, and students are increasingly coming to share a common class interest in the overthrow of capitalism. (Ibid., p. 7)

The document goes on to say,

What we must understand is that the bankruptcy of the capitalist system has so infected and poisoned every aspect of society that today all oppressed groups have an objective and real stake in doing away with the power of the corporate rulers. (Ibid., p. 8)

Of course, "all oppressed groups have an objective and real stake in doing away with the power of the corporate rulers." However, all the oppressed and exploited do not have a similar position within the system. In fact, the "Open Letter" de-emphasizes the production workers' special role even further by substituting "group" for class, thus slurring over class struggle as the motive force for change.

The "Open Letter" asserts:

From time to time, one or another of these groups will take the initiative in the struggle, and this in turn will stimulate other groups to respond to the degree that mutual confidence and understanding has been established in the course of daily work and struggles. (Ibid.)

It is certainly true that the sharpening economic, social and political crisis will evoke "initiative in the struggle" from forces within the growing numbers of scientific, service and professional workers. And as the crisis of capitalism continues to deepen, more and more "groups" and strata will come within the scope of the alliance between the working class and all who suffer in any form under monopoly's rule. To the extent that the "initiative" of "one or another of these groups" and strata relates to the crucial issues of the day, their actions will stimulate positive repercussions in the struggle for an independent mass alternative to the monopoly-imposed crisis of existence. But the "Open Letter" does not project such a perspective. Instead, it counterposes the potential "initiative" of these "groups" to the primary initiative of the working class.

The increasing polarization within the crisis of capitalism pushes new segments into the working class and also imposes on many "groups" and non-working-class strata conditions close to but not identical with those faced by the working class. But in its concept of the "expanded working class," the "Open Letter" misinterprets the changing status of these sectors of the population. The intensifying crisis brings such forces closer to the orbit of working class leadership but—contrary to the "Open Letter"—does not merge them with it.

The ideological starting point of the "Open Letter" is a two-fold revision of the Marxist conception of the working class; while denying the leading role of the working class, especially basic production workers, the "Open Letter" advances the corollary view that the "initiative" of "one or another" of a variety of "groups" will replace the primary role of the working class. Thus we see that the interpretation of the "expanding nature of the working class" in the "Open Letter" is in reality a break with a class analysis and perspective.

To challenge the view that a variety of "groups" can substitute for working-class initiative is not to diminish the potential initiative of the multiple "groups" suffering under the crisis of capitalism. But to assert that such "groups" can replace working-class leadership denies the necessity for an alliance between the working class and various "groups" and strata—which can be built only through the primary role of the multi-racial working class.

On the surface, the difference between the "Open Letter" concept of a new "historical bloc" and the call for a mass anti-monopoly formation may seem purely semantic. In reality, however, it represents the difference between an independent class position and one that bypasses the working class, thus diverting the struggle for an independent people's alternative to monopoly's two parties. Such an alternative

cannot be built by "groups" alone, but only through the involvement, the primary leadership of the working class within a strategy combining all the oppressed and exploited with all non-monopoly "groups" and strata.

Interestingly, an early challenge to anti-Marxist concepts of the "expanded working class" and a new "historical bloc" to be led not by the working class but by various "social groups" came from Lenin—who wrote that such conceptions ran counter to the processes of the class struggle.

Certainly, Lenin did not underestimate the potential inherent in various "social groups," in "classes and strata of society" outside the working class. However, he emphasized that initiative from such "social groups" depends on the inspiration and guidance of the working class. Lenin stressed the need to:

... strengthen our faith in the might of the labour movement we lead; for we see that unrest in the *foremost revolutionary class* is spreading to other classes and other strata of society, that it has *already led*, not only to the rousing of the revolutionary spirit among the students to a degree hitherto unparalleled, but to the beginning of the awakening of the countryside, to greater self-confidence and readiness to struggle on the part of social groups that have until now (*as groups*) not been very responsive.

Public unrest is growing among the entire people in Russia, among all classes, and it is our duty . . . to exert every effort to take advantage of this development, in order to explain to the progressive working-class intellectuals what an ally they have in the peasants, in the students, and in the intellectuals generally, and to teach them how to take advantage of the flashes of social protest that break out, now in one place, now in another. We shall be able to assume our role of *front-rank fighters* for freedom only when the working class, led by a militant revolutionary party, while never for a moment forgetting its special condition in modern society and its specific historic task of liberating humanity from economic enslavement, will raise the banner in the struggle for *freedom* for the whole people and will rally to this banner all those of the most varied strata. . . . (*Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 288–289, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964. The word "freedom" emphasized in original; other emphasis added—H.W.)

Antecedent of "Open Letter" Concepts

An antecedent of the substitution in the "Open Letter" of social "groups" for the role of the working class, for struggle between classes

as the motive force in history, can be found in Roger Garaudy's concepts—in, for example, his theory of a "current mutation."

In his book, *The Crisis of Communism: The Turning Point of Socialism* (Grove Press Inc., New York), Garaudy asserts that a "drastic 'rethinking' " of former conceptions of the working class is needed. (p. 10) The reason? A "current mutation" in the contradictions of capitalism. (p. 39) And "the key," as Garaudy puts it, to this "current mutation" is provided by the scientific and technological revolution.

"The first and most decisive of those consequences [of the scientific and technological revolution] in the United States," declares Garaudy, "is a shift in the contradictions inherent in capitalism." (*Ibid.*, p. 49. Emphasis in original.)

Thus, Garaudy asserts that the "mutation" caused by the scientific and technological revolution "shifts" the "contradictions inherent in capitalism" away from class conflict. Or, to put it another way, he says the basic contradictions of capitalism can no longer be found in the antagonism between working class and bourgeoisie based on their relationships to the means of production.

However, since the once predicted obsolescence of the working class has not occurred (on the contrary, its numerical increase is evident), Garaudy goes on to add that the "shift" does not mean "the old contradictions have disappeared, but rather that they have been profoundly transformed by fresh contradictions." Hence, "What we have to consider, besides the new type of growth [is] the transformation of classes and of class relations. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 49)

This "transformation of classes" has created, according to Garaudy, a "working class in the broadest sense of the term . . . jointly constituted by the white collar workers and the blue collar workers." (*Ibid.*, p. 63) This force constitutes the "new historic bloc," the "only factor capable of involving even wider social strata in a vast movement for the renewal of American society." (*Ibid.*, p. 63)

However, while Garaudy speaks of a "working class . . . jointly constituted by the white-collar workers and the blue-collar workers," he makes it clear that blue-collar workers, far from being "front-rankers" in the fight for a "renewal of American society," won't even have *equal* status with the white-collar workers. In fact, it is the white-collar workers *farthest* from the point of production who are assigned the leading role in Garaudy's "new historic bloc":

There can be no doubt that a primary role . . . will be played by the engineers, the technologists, and the cadres, as also by a great many intellectuals, and this for objective reasons—namely, the new struc-

ture of the productive forces and the corresponding importance of organized intelligence. (Ibid., p. 68)

In stating that the "shift" does not mean "the old contradictions have disappeared," Garaudy is acknowledging their existence only to declare them an anachronism—for, in his view, the "current mutation" "shifts" the basic contradiction far from the arena of class struggle and the primary role played by the basic production workers.

"Human Subjectivity"—Or Class Consciousness?

According to Garaudy, the "mutation" brought about by scientific and technological developments has not only expanded but *altered* the character of the working class and the class struggle:

... what is forcibly emerging in opposition to the blind mechanism of industrial civilization, is *human subjectivity* in this, the era of the scientific and technological revolution. (Ibid., p. 19. Emphasis in the original.)

In other words, to Garaudy the primary motive force for change is not the class struggle but the scientific and technological revolution. Using the alleged "mutation" of the character of the working class and the class struggle as his rationale, he "shifts" from a class position, substituting "human subjectivity" for class consciousness—and for Marxism-Leninism, the highest form of class consciousness. (The idea in the "Open Letter" that "one or another" "group" can replace the class role of the working class also derives from this "mutation" concept.)

Another reason, says Garaudy, why the "current mutation" has altered the character of the working class is that "the computerization of production as also of administration tends to place man at the *periphery* of direct production. . . ." (Ibid., p. 24. Emphasis added—H.W.) This is why the basic production workers are subordinate (if not irrelevant), in Garaudy's "new historic bloc," to the scientific and professional workers "at the *periphery* of direct production."

At this writing, the miners are being forced to prepare for a strike against government-supported mine owners. It would be news to these miners (and to all the millions of workers *directly* involved in production) to learn that the main force and struggle against the bosses comes from the minority of scientists and engineers "at the *periphery* of direct production." If the strike takes place, the miners will of course welcome the support of every engineer and technician, on and off the picket lines. But the miners, as well as auto, steel and all other workers involved

directly in production, well know that the primary strength and leadership of every struggle comes from those at the center of production and transport. Moreover, they know that not all those "at the periphery" will side with them; many of the engineers, technicians, etc., will enforce the interests of the bosses. Those "at the periphery" who do have common interests with the direct production workers can defend these interests only in conjunction with the *primary* struggles and leading role of the production workers.

A Time-Worn Tactic

As part of his attempt to prove that scientific and technological workers "at the periphery of production" have not only fused with the working class but replaced basic production workers and class struggle as the primary force for change, Garaudy turns to the time-worn tactic of quoting Marx to falsify Marxism:

... when, as foreseen by Marx, science is becoming a leading force in production, it is an objective fact that a growing number of non-manual workers (notably engineers and research workers) are coming to form part of the "collective laborer" and to evince the class criteria corresponding to those applied by Marx when he defined the working class. (Ibid., p. 98)

But, unlike Garaudy, Marx does not equate the "collective laborer" with the working class. Marx showed that because of scientific advances, more and more categories are involved in the collective process of production, ranging from workers at the direct point of production to personnel at different supervisory, scientific and professional levels. Each level tends to be further removed from direct production and closer to management, yet all form part of the "collective laborer." Marx wrote that in the "collective laborer" process, the capitalist

... hands over the work of direct and constant supervision of the individual workmen, and groups of workmen, to a special kind of wage-laborer. An industrial army of workmen, under the command of a capitalist, requires, like a real army, officers (managers), and sergeants (foremen, overlookers), who, while the work is being done, command in the name of the capitalist. (*Capital*, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 332)

Marx went on to say:

As in the natural body head and hand wait upon each other, so the labor-process unites the labor of the hand with that of the head. Later on they part company and even become deadly foes. The product

ceases to be the direct product of the individual, and becomes a social product, produced in common by a collective laborer. . . . (Ibid., p. 508)

Marx also wrote:

Included among these productive workers, of course are all those who contribute in one way or another to the production of the commodity, from the actual operative to the manager or engineer (as distinct from the capitalist). (*Theories of Surplus Value*, Part I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 156-157)

Garaudy's attempt to enlist Marx to contradict Marx falls apart under the impact of Marx's clear distinction between the "actual operative" and "the manager or engineer," etc., at other levels. Marx's distinction applies equally to today's "actual operative" at the point of production and scientific and other personnel at the "periphery of direct production."

To Marx, however, the term "collective laborer" encompassed the modern large-scale social process of capitalist commodity production—a process including "the manager or the engineer," etc., along with "the actual operative." When Marx wrote of the "collective laborer" he neither confused nor equated this concept with the working class and class struggle. But Garaudy manipulates Marx's words to make it appear that, according to Marx, those "at the periphery of direct production" have merged with the direct production workers within the class struggle historically destined to abolish capitalist commodity production.

Of course, the engineers, scientists and managers "at the periphery of direct production" all contribute, as Marx put it, "in one way or another to the production of the commodity." But through his distortion of Marx's concept of the "collective laborer," Garaudy obscures the fact that in the class struggle—the workers' struggle against exploitation within the process of capitalist commodity production—a distinct differentiation takes place: The "collective laborer" breaks down according to the relationship of each of its segments to direct production.

And it is in the segments "at the periphery of direct production"—the leading players in Garaudy's "new historic bloc"—where vacillation appears. It is, after all, the function of certain segments within the "collective laborer" to "contribute in one way or another" *not* to the struggle of the direct production workers, but to upholding the aims of capitalism. Thus, certain segments of the "collective laborer" "part company" with the direct production workers and even become their "deadly foes" in the struggle against wage slavery, the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Garaudy distorts Marx's concept of the "collective laborer" by obscuring the distinction between the commodity production process and class struggle, which originates in the contradiction between classes in relation to the means of production. Garaudy does this to advance a major thesis of his book, the alleged "shift" in the "contradictions inherent in capitalism." It is unfortunate that the "Open Letter" reflects Garaudy's basic error in this connection.

In addition, both Garaudy and the "Open Letter" misinterpret the changes in working-class composition arising out of scientific and technical developments in the production process. Both, for example, take the numerical increase in scientific and professional workers to mean a numerical decrease in direct production workers—somehow managing to overlook the several hundred percent increase in the industrial working class since capitalism arrived at its monopoly stage.

Because the ratio of scientific and professional workers is now larger than in the past, Garaudy concludes that the direct production workers and those "at the periphery" are now fused into one indivisible entity, the "collective laborer." From this premise he advances the theory of an expanded working class in which the new scientific and professional workers play the primary role, replacing the basic industrial workers.

As we indicated earlier, Garaudy's misuse of the "collective laborer" concept to buttress his anti-Marxist "new historic bloc" idea is a time-worn tactic. In fact, the last word on those who would use Marx to refute Marxism was had by Lenin in 1908.

"A number of writers," Lenin stated, "have this year undertaken a veritable campaign against the philosophy of Marxism." He then went on to say:

All these people could not have been ignorant of the fact that Marx and Engels scores of times termed their philosophical views dialectical materialism. Yet all these people who, despite the sharp divergence of their political views, are united in their hostility toward dialectical materialism, at the same time claim to be Marxists in philosophy! Engels' dialectics is "mysticism," says Berman. Engels' views have become "antiquated," remarks Bazarov casually, as though it were a self-evident fact. . . . Yet when it comes to an explicit definition of their attitude toward Marx and Engels, all their courage and all their respect for their own convictions at once disappear. In deed—a complete renunciation of dialectical materialism, i.e., of Marxism; in word—endless subterfuges, attempts to evade the essence of the question, to cover their retreat, to put some materialist or other in place of materialism in general, and a determined refusal to make a direct analysis of the innumerable

materialist declarations of Marx and Engels. This is truly "mutiny on one's knees," as it was justly characterized by one Marxist. This is typical philosophical revisionism, for it was only the revisionists who gained a sad notoriety for themselves by their departure from the fundamental views of Marxism and by their fear, or inability, to "settle accounts" openly, explicitly, resolutely and clearly with the views they had abandoned.

Lenin added:

At the moment I would only remark that if our philosophers had spoken not in the name of Marxism but in the name of a few "seeking" Marxists, they would have shown more respect for themselves and for Marxism. (V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, New York, International Publishers, 1927, pp. 9-10)

Letting the Bosses Off the Hook

With undeniable logic, Garaudy balances off his exaggeration of the role of scientific and professional workers at the "periphery" by dismissing the role of workers at the direct point of production. For this he gives the following theoretical justification:

The scientific and technological revolution, however, has affected the development of the American trade union movement in two different ways. Firstly, it has progressively atrophied the movement's social function. Because the great mutation has enabled the employer to increase his profits by a technologically induced rise in productivity rather than by *direct overexploitation*, it has been possible to rally the administrative organs of the trade unions and, in their wake, the main body of the working class, to the aims and to the nefarious consequences these entail—the policies relating to armaments and war. . . . The second effect the mutation has had upon the trade unions arises out of the first. Having been reduced to a purely economic role which they have in any case already played out by obtaining all there was to obtain through collective bargaining, their function inevitably becomes bureaucratized—the trade union becomes an organ of the system. Thus integration and bureaucratization are two aspects of the present impasse. (*The Crisis in Communism: The Turning Point of Socialism*, pp. 63-64. Emphasis added—H.W.)

Who but the bosses could accept Garaudy's assertion that a "great mutation" arising out of the scientific and technological revolution has allowed employers to increase profits by a "technologically induced rise in productivity rather than by direct exploitation"?

No longer, according to Garaudy, is state monopoly capitalism the workers' enemy—because a "great mutation" has brought about increased profits without "over-exploitation"! Nor are the class-collaborationist labor lieutenants who control the trade union apparatus the workers' enemy—because the trade unions have "already played out" their role "by obtaining all there was to obtain through collective bargaining"! And no longer do the masses of white workers experience "direct over-exploitation," nor do the three million Black workers in basic industry and transport suffer double and triple "over-exploitation"—because profits come not from speedup, etc., but from a "technologically induced rise in productivity"! This idyllic reversal of reality cannot conceal the harsh consequences of the scientific and technological revolution under the control of monopoly capital. Its fruits are seen especially in the United States, in mounting corporate profits contrasted with spiraling increases in speedup in the work places, in the rates of exploitation, and in massive, chronically expanding unemployment and poverty—doubly and triply experienced by Black and other oppressed minorities. This same technology in the hands of imperialism also means still greater super-profits for apartheid colonialism in South Africa and for neo-colonialism in Africa and other countries of the "third world."

On the other hand, technology in the socialist countries has a completely opposite result internally and on a world scale from that of the imperialist countries.

For instance, the recently concluded agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between Angola and the Soviet Union is an example of the true equality that can be formed between socialist states and the peoples now breaking away from neo-colonialist domination.

To dispel any lingering doubts that Garaudy's "new historic bloc" concept is anything but a "new" variant of old class-collaborationist policies, one need only examine his view that the mass of basic production workers are now integrated into the system—i.e., won "to the aims" of capital, their material needs well satisfied because they have gotten "all there was to obtain through collective bargaining." (Isn't this exactly what the bosses tell the workers when they demand a pay increase?)

Such an analysis of the U.S. trade union movement is simply an apology for the corrupt, racist, anti-Communist AFL-CIO officialdom. Further, from reading Garaudy's analysis one would never dream that the role of slavery and racism in capitalism's development has had anything to do with the class struggle and the present level of conscious-

ness and organization of the U.S. working class. Rejecting the relationship between the economic and the political struggle, as Garaudy does, is the logical outcome of a retreat from class struggle to class collaborationist policies.

Black People and Class Differentiation

It should be noted that, unlike Garaudy, the "Open Letter" does not de-emphasize the oppression of Black people in general. On the other hand, the "Open Letter" does reflect Garaudy's influence in its failure to deal specifically with the triple "over-exploitation" of Black workers, and in its treatment of Black liberation without regard to class differentiation—in fact, it does not make a single reference to Black workers as such. For example:

The party of the people [one which represents a new "historical bloc" based on the "expanding nature of the working class"—H.W.] must be a party in which Black people participate fully in the initial organizing, the thinking, the planning and development—that is, a party in which Black people take a leadership role. ("Open Letter," p. 8)

But a strategy for Black liberation—as well as a strategy for building a mass alternative to monopoly's two parties—must first of all recognize the special role of Black workers within the Black liberation movement as a whole, and in the general class struggle of the multi-racial working class. In this respect, the "Open Letter" parallels Garaudy's assignment of non-working-class strata to the working class, while minimizing the decisive role of the basic production workers.

Despite the divisiveness of racism, the objective historical process is merging Black workers with the general class struggle. But, contrary to the impression given by the "Open Letter" of a merger of the Black people as a whole with an "expanding working class," the Black liberation movement as such does not and will not merge with the working class. To advance the idea of such a merger can be of assistance only to those who would ideologically disarm the Black workers, and divert them from their dual historic role of participating fully and leading equally in the general class struggle, while leading the Black liberation movement. To convey the impression that the Black people as a whole merge into the working class obscures in particular the responsibility of white workers in building an alliance between the multi-racial working class, the Black liberation movement and all the oppressed as central to the anti-monopoly struggle.

The "Internal Colony" Theory

While the "Open Letter" bypasses the special role of Black workers within the multi-racial working class and the Black liberation movement, it embraces a current and seriously misleading concept that defines the Black condition in the United States as an "internal colony":

... a fundamental conflict is built into the very heart of U.S. capitalist society—an internal contradiction between imperialist country and oppressed colony which in most other capitalist countries exists only as an external contradiction. The embedding of this colonial contradiction within the heart of the most powerful capitalist system in the world has extraordinary importance. When the dynamics of the upsurge to complete the struggle for Black liberation and the unfulfilled democratic revolution of the internal colony merges with the power of working class struggles against capitalism, as Blacks increasingly participate in and give leadership to workplace conflicts, an insight into the special and particular features of the history of this country opens up. This insight constitutes a unique key to shaking the foundations of capitalist rule. (Ibid., pp. 8-9.)

It is a fact that the "Open Letter" does not mention a single burning demand of the Black people, nor a single issue around which Black people, and particularly Black workers, are fighting. This truly astounding omission can be traced directly to the "internal colony" theory, which gives rise to a separatist strategy and goals leading away from the struggle against racism and objective historical processes of the class struggle and the Black liberation movement, and the demands at the center of Black liberation and working-class struggle.

The "unique key" to a Black liberation strategy does not lie in an "internal colony" theory—which conceals instead of explains the Black condition in the United States. This condition is, as we shall see, very different from that of a colony—which in no degree lessens the oppression and exploitation of Black people, but does call for a liberation strategy "unique" from that of a colony.

The "Open Letter" speaks of the "dynamics of the upsurge" of Black liberation as the "internal colony merges with the power of working-class struggles." In reality, however, the orientation of the "internal colony" theory—corresponding as it does to the condition of oppressed colonial majorities beyond U.S. borders and not to conditions in the United States—contradicts rather than "merges with" the "dynamics" of the Black liberation movement and the multi-racial

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working-class struggles. Thus the document offers a perspective counter to the requirements of the struggle against racism and super-exploitation in the "workplaces" of this country.

There is a built-in contradiction between the document's rhetoric about a Black liberation movement that "merges" with "workplace conflicts" and its "internal colony" concept—which leads away from the concerns of millions of Black and other workers in the nation's "workplaces." For example, auto "workplaces" in Detroit, Lordstown, Tarrytown, etc., are shutting down, temporarily or otherwise. Tens of thousands of Black, as well as non-Black, workers are being catapulted into the swelling tide of unemployed—at a time when even a weekly paycheck does not provide escape from the disaster of monopoly-enforced inflation.

Now one must ask: Will the Black workers' fight for jobs be directed within the so-called colonies—i.e., ghettos—scattered across the country? Can Blacks find a solution to their triple oppression—as workers, as a people, and racially—within these alleged colonies scattered across the country? Or is the solution to be found via a rejection of the "internal colony" theory, and the adoption of a strategy recognizing the inalienable rights of Black people and the realities of Black liberation?

The unemployed Black auto workers are not looking for jobs in the ghetto—where they do not exist. Their demands are aimed at those who control the jobs. Their fight, unlike that of the masses in a colony, is not against an *external* oppressor and exploiter; it's against the racist monopolists controlling *this country's entire economy*.

Even the total of all oppressed minorities in this country (the Black people plus the Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian-American and Native American peoples) does not constitute a majority, as do the oppressed in a colony. In the United States, the "colony" idea conflicts with the "dynamics" of struggle: Here, the interests and struggles of *all* the oppressed and exploited "merge" into a common battle against an *internal* enemy, monopoly capital.

Yet the "Open Letter," in total disregard of the reality of the "dynamics" of Black liberation in the United States, insists that policies stemming from the "internal colony" concept are the "unique key to shaking the foundations of capitalist rule." The document, for instance, states:

Since the problems created by the special oppression of Black people are unique and distinct, the party will recognize the need for and respect the *autonomy* of separate political organizations and nationalist groups working specifically for the emancipation of Black people from domination. Thus, the party will under no circumstances

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attempt to *compete* with, *dictate* to, or *superimpose*, an outside perspective on such groups. The party will specifically fully support both the right to and the profound impact of strategies for self-determination of Black people. Acting in support of these initiatives the party will develop the closest possible alliances and working relationships with Black political organizations. (Ibid., p. 9. Emphasis added—H.W.)

Through its promotion of the "internal colony" concept, the "Open Letter," ironically, would "superimpose" upon the Black liberation movement an "outside" strategy of "self-determination" that applies to Asian, African and Latin American countries—but not to the struggle for Black liberation *within* the United States. To "superimpose" such an "outside" perspective on the Black liberation movement is to divert from the "unique key" to liberation of all oppressed and exploited in the United States.

By adopting this "outside" orientation, the "Open Letter" pursues a course tantamount to "competing with"—in fact, "dictating" *against*—the objective direction in which the Black liberation movement in particular and the class struggle in general are moving.

The "Open Letter" proffers support to those "initiatives" corresponding to its "internal colony" perspective. But such "initiatives" are in fact separate detours counter to the direction of Black liberation. Such "initiatives" divert from the initiatives corresponding to—and the strategy accelerating—the objective process of struggle against class and racist oppression in the United States.

The "Open Letter" speaks abstractly of "workplace conflicts." But the policies arising from its "internal colony" theory contradict the actual fight being waged by the Black people as a whole and especially Black workers—in the "workplace" and beyond—for an end to racism and oppression. By dwelling on a concept of "self-determination" applicable to colonially oppressed majorities in African, Asian and Latin American countries with separate economies dominated by external oppressors, the "Open Letter" advances not a strategy of liberation, but one of defeat for a Black minority fighting for liberation—not within a separate economy, but throughout the total economy of U.S. state monopoly capitalism.

Decoding the "Code" Words

A really regrettable feature of the "Open Letter" is its use of anti-Communist "code" words to "superimpose" on the struggles of the oppressed in the United States a strategy unrelated to reality in this

country. One such "code" word (and a particularly notorious one) is "outside," readily translated into "Communist" by any reader having even the slightest familiarity with the language of the mass media. (Was this redbaiting in anticipation of the fact that the Communists would enter into the discussion and take issue with the unscientific "internal colony" theory and its harmful consequences?)

The divisive implication that an analysis based on Marxist-Leninist principles is an "outside perspective" should be left to the racist ruling class. But, and again ironically, the "Open Letter" shows anew that not only anti-Communists but also those who, regrettably, fail to resist anti-Communist ideology invariably counter a Marxist-Leninist perspective in the only way possible: with "outside"—i.e., bourgeois-influenced—policies; policies arising outside of and against the interests of the working class and the oppressed, and objectively serving the *outside* interests of the monopolist oppressors. The policies arising from the "internal colony" concept unfortunately fall into this category.

Far from providing insight into the character of Black oppression in the United States, the "outside" colony analogy—by transplanting concepts applicable to African, Asian and Latin American countries—obscures the special features of the development of the Black liberation struggle in the United States.

A colony is a *separate* society, having a *separate* economy within a common territory. In freeing itself from domination originating from the *separate* economy of its imperialist oppressor, a colony opens the way toward taking control of its own resources, economy and future.

The super-exploitation of a colony, therefore, arises from its domination by a *separate* "mother country." But the racist ruling class's super-exploitation of Black people in the United States—first as unpaid, then underpaid, labor—has never taken place within two separate societies. This is the unique difference between the Black condition in this country and a colony.

Even during the period when U.S. economic and political power was divided and shared between the slave owners and the rising capitalist class, two separate independent societies did not exist. The slavocracy could not survive as a separate society, but only so long as chattel slavery served the accumulation and expansion of capital in non-slave areas of the economy. The economy in the chattel slavery areas and that in the "free" labor areas were never fully separate; on the contrary, they were interconnected and interdependent, each evolving with an interrelated process of capital accumulation based on the unpaid labor of Black slaves and cheap labor of white workers.

Today, when the U.S. economy continues to be ever more com-

pletely consolidated under the control of state monopoly capital, it becomes increasingly apparent that the triple oppression of Black people has not evolved within a separate, detachable "internal colony"—but that the reality of an historic process has locked Black people and the oppressed minorities, along with the white masses, into the single society of state monopoly capitalism.

A "Versatile" Theory

A corollary to the crisis of capitalism is the crisis of anti-Communism. The crisis is evident, for example, in monopoly's desperate and escalating attempts to counter scientific socialism, the Marxist-Leninist analysis of class and national liberation, with other, more "revolutionary" theories. Unlike Marxism-Leninism, such theories are so versatile they can be adapted for use by ruling class as well as radical circles.

One theory in this category is the "internal colony" idea which turned up, for instance, in the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, popularly known as the "Kerner Report." As handled by the Kerner Commission—appointed by President Johnson following the 1967 ghetto upsurges—the super-radical "internal colony" concept becomes a "warning" that the country is divided into two, and this alleged condition may become permanent.

To continue present policies is to make permanent the division of our country into two societies; one Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other predominantly white and affluent, located in the suburbs and outlying areas. (*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, Bantam Books, New York, 1968, p. 483)

The similarity between this view and that of the radical adherents of the "internal colony" theory is only too evident. Whether described as "two societies" by ruling-class circles or an "internal colony" by radicals, the theory of separate societies within this country serves to disguise the special character of the segregation and triple oppression of Black people—which takes place not within a separate society, but within the *same* society, the *same* economic system, controlled by the *same* racist monopolists dominating the lives of the masses of this country—Black, brown, red, yellow and white.

Not only does the "Open Letter" ignore the contradiction between its "internal colony" theory and the absence of a basis for a separate, viable economy within a common territory where self-determination for Black people in the United States could be achieved; it also fails to link

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the question of "self-determination" for the "internal colony" to the all-important matter of state power.

The slogan of self-determination applies to countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America because separate state power can be achieved within the territory of a former colony such as Guinea-Bissau, or in Angola, Mozambique, etc. But state power cannot be attained in the U.S. ghettos or any other separatist or artificially conceived form. Nor can Black people alone bring about a change in control of U.S. state power. The power of state monopoly capitalism, which controls this entire country, can be broken only by the power of a nation-wide anti-monopoly coalition, with the multi-racial working class as its foundation and leadership.

The "internal colony" theory fosters the idea that Blacks alone—without the alliance of all those whose interests lie in opposition to monopoly—can advance separately against the class that owns the decisive sectors of the economy and, through this ownership, exercises control over the total economy, in and out of the ghetto. But it is impossible for any single section of the oppressed and exploited—even the exploited majority of white workers—to effectively take on even a single major corporation in the fight to improve conditions.

When workers take on even one major corporation, they are met with the collective power of monopoly—backed up by government—against their demands. This is the reality of state monopoly capitalism whose consolidated power is decisive in the lives of the working masses, whatever their color or origin. If no stratum of the workers—not even the white majority—can effectively challenge even one corporate monopoly, how can the Black minority take on the collective power of all the monopolists, state monopoly capitalism?

But the "Open Letter," through its promotion of the "internal colony" idea, would have all segments of the working class, as well as the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American minorities as a whole, reject a strategy of collective opposition to the collective power of state monopoly capitalism.

When the conditions for separate economic development do not exist, "self-determination" is a fantasy. The reality facing Black people in the United States is how to break monopoly's control of state power, which it maintains with its prime weapons of racism and anti-Communism. The "internal colony" idea must be seen for what it is: a concept that diverts from the basic question of forging a powerful anti-monopoly coalition in this country. If the multi-racial masses were to accept this concept advanced by the "Open Letter," they would be left

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without a strategy of unification to oppose the unified strategy of monopoly.

A Revealing Contrast

If one contrasts the status of Puerto Rico as a colony with that of Black people in United States, the differences are revealing. However, the "Open Letter" conceals rather than reveals these differences:

Puerto Rico and the plight of the Puerto Rican people poses an especially sharp challenge at this moment in history. Puerto Rico provides a classic example of an external colony . . . [in the United States] in a context of intolerable working conditions, Puerto Ricans suffer double oppression, as refugees from an occupied nation and as members of the working class. As with the internal Black colony, this dual oppression points to a tremendous revolutionary potential. . . . ("Open Letter," p. 11)

It is true that the extra oppression of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the United States represents a special revolutionary potential within the working class. It is also true that the Black Americans and the people in the Puerto Rican colony experience some of the same features of oppression.

However, by describing the Black condition as an "internal Black colony," the "Open Letter" obscures the profoundly different situation of the Black liberation movement in the United States from the Puerto Rican independence movement in the struggle against U.S. imperialist oppression. Consequently, it doesn't make the vital distinction between a strategy for the liberation of Black, Puerto Rican and other oppressed minorities in the United States, and one for Puerto Rican independence.

The people of Puerto Rico occupy a territory in which they are not only a majority but—apart from a handful of agents of U.S. imperialism—the entire population. Although Puerto Rico's economy is now dominated by U.S. imperialism, it is—as was Cuba's—detachable from the U.S. economy. And—as in the Cuban struggle that opened the way for liberation—the first demand of Puerto Ricans is for political independence. This is the starting point of the Puerto Rican strategy to break out of the grip of U.S. imperialism and establish control of the Puerto Rican government and economy.

Puerto Rican bourgeois nationalists, however, counterpose the demand for independence with the fantasy of Puerto Ricans jointly determining their future with U.S. imperialism within the "Commonwealth"—i.e., colony. Any formula for so-called joint control

of Puerto Rico is a sham. The Puerto Rican liberation movement is not demanding joint control or participation in the U.S. economy in any form; it is out to end "joint" control of the Puerto Rican economy.

By contrast, the Black liberation movement—representing a minority in the multi-racial U.S. population—demands equality in determining the economic and political life of the United States. But the monopolists use everything from discrimination to assassination to prevent Black people from "jointly" determining the policies of this country.

Of course, the goal of the U.S. oppressed and exploited is not to become the "partners" of U.S. monopoly. The job of the masses of the people, whatever their race or origin, is—under the leadership of the working class—to end monopoly control of the country. This fight cannot be carried on by the Black minority alone. Only the unity of all the oppressed and exploited can win *joint control* of the economy by the people.

It is ironic that U.S. imperialism—which uses its economic and military power to oppose self-determination for African, Asian and Latin American countries with separate economies to at least some degree—encourages the fantasy of "self-determination" for Black people without a common territory or separate economy in the United States.

The strategy of the liberation movements of Puerto Rico and other countries outside the United States is to break the links binding their economies to imperialism. But a liberating strategy for Black people in the United States does not call for a break with the U.S. economy. Instead, such a strategy must aim at ending the exclusion of Blacks from full participation in the U.S. economy. The goal here is complete equality within the total economy.

The "internal colony" theory leads away from this strategy. In effect, it tells Black workers to give up the struggle against the monopolists who exploit them at the point of production, and instead, to fall in behind those who advocate the fantasy of Black capitalism, of "self-determination" in the ghettos.

Struggle in Every Arena

*I*n a section on electoral policy, the "Open Letter" states:

... we must shake loose from doctrinal disputes of the past. A party of the people must be prepared to *struggle in every arena available*. ("Open Letter," p. 16. Emphasis added—H.W.)

However, far from "shaking loose" from past "doctrinal disputes," the "Open Letter" projects onto the current scene strong elements of both right opportunism and "left" sectarianism which, if not corrected, could, as these tendencies have in the past, adversely affect the building of a people's alternative to monopoly's two parties. The "Open Letter" goes on to say:

The decision to participate must reflect the solid conviction that the particular tactic specifically advances and sharpens the struggle for the people at that moment, and needless to say must *never* be an opportunist maneuver to aid a liberal capitalist "lesser evil." (Ibid. Emphasis in the original.)

This is a resurrection of "doctrinal" concepts that would isolate radicals from classes and strata already in motion against monopoly, thus retarding the formation of a mass electoral alternative. Such rhetoric and tactics—projecting an image of radicals as part of the problem, rather than a force for solving problems—inevitably evoke right opportunist reactions: Frustrated by the projection of a pseudo-radical non-alternative, many would lose confidence in the Left's ability

to help bring about a massive breakaway from the two-party system, which can occur only through a complicated, multi-racial process.

Broad multi-racial anti-monopoly forces in and out of the labor movement, not yet ready to break with the two-party system, are moving increasingly into struggle around critical issues. Such forces will look upon the electoral tactics in the "Open Letter" as an obstruction to dealing with the problems of the day, thus an "evil" in themselves. Instead of helping to provide an alternative to the "lesser evil" syndrome, the orientation in the "Open Letter" would prop it up: Knowing that such a narrow approach could not win others, many forces who could help in building an effective mass electoral alternative would instead see no hope for it and therefore remain within the two parties' "lesser evil" orbit.

Millions of Black and other oppressed peoples—including mounting numbers within the multi-racial working class—are taking initiative around crisis-of-existence issues. Even though these forces are still electorally within the two-party framework, their struggles represent a new stage in the process by which millions are putting a greater and greater distance between their aspirations and the policies of monopoly's two parties. But the tactics of the "Open Letter" run roughshod over this reality.

Inherent in the divisive rhetoric in the "Open Letter" is a clear, even though unconscious, reflection of racism: By consigning all elected officials not yet ready to break with the two-party system to the "liberal capitalist 'lesser evil' " scrapheap, the "Open Letter" writes off the vital bloc of Black Congressional representatives. In dismissing these and hundreds of other Black elected officials across the nation, the "Open Letter" reveals a giant contradiction: What becomes of its promise never to "compete with, dictate to, or superimpose an outside perspective on" Black people? And what of its avowal that the "party of the people" will "respect the autonomy of" and develop "the closest possible alliances and working relationships with Black political organizations"? In its handling of the "lesser evil" question, the "Open Letter" does indeed "compete with and dictate to" Black people. It shows disrespect for their decision-making rights by attempting to impose an "outside perspective" on them—instead of supporting the struggle for Black representation on every level. What the "Open Letter" projects is a head-on collision with the most significant electoral developments since Reconstruction.

It ignores a most significant fact: that is, the uneven development of the struggle for an independent, anti-monopoly formation.

It fails to take note of the advanced demands and specific forms of

development of the Black liberation movement. It also fails to see that the Black liberation movement at one and the same time seeks maximum unity of its people and an alliance with the working-class movement, as the road toward a people's alternative to monopoly.

It would be well if the authors of the "Open Letter," instead of issuing pronouncements from the mountaintop, would learn from the experience and present struggles and demands of the Black people. This would deepen their conception of, and "support" for, the policies and goals now emerging from "inside" the Black liberation movement.

Most unfortunately, though certainly unintentionally, the "Open Letter" parallels the policies of the Jacksons, Eastlands, Fords, Rockefellers, Reagans, Goldwaters, etc.—the enemies of Black representation. Whereas these reactionaries see the growing number of elected Black officials as an "evil," the "Open Letter" dismisses Black electoral gains as a "lesser evil." One may be sure that millions of Black voters would view such pseudo-radical rhetoric as a reflection of the racist evil. And it would also be rejected by millions of white voters—including voters in white majority districts—who have helped elect Black officials in the South, West, North and Midwest.

One must ask: Is it possible to contribute to building an independent people's alternative by adopting tactics that "compete with" and "dictate to" the forces showing a growing potential for breaking out of the "lesser evil" syndrome? An independent alternative won't be advanced by policies that isolate radicals from these trends, but through a strategy encompassing all currents that can be won to the leadership of the multi-racial working class in the anti-monopoly struggle.

"Possibilities and Limitations"

Having disclosed its tactics in regard to the "lesser evil" problem, the "Open Letter" goes on to reveal another carry-over from "doctrinal disputes of the past":

The party will never propose participation in electoral struggles as the ultimate solution, but will always realistically project the possibilities and the limitations of electoral struggles and victories. (Ibid., pp. 16-17)

It is, of course, impossible to advance toward—let alone bring about—the revolutionary transformation to the "ultimate" socialist goal without a strategy involving the many-sided aspects of mass electoral and non-electoral struggles.

But radicals who place such emphasis on the "limitations of

electoral struggles and victories"—at a time when those who must be won to a mass alternative have not yet broken with the two-party system—do not "realistically project the possibilities" inherent in mass struggle. Such super-revolutionary speculations on the "limitations" of future struggles can only divert from today's central strategy in the United States: formation of a broad people's alternative that will abolish the historical anachronism represented by corporate capital's monopoly of the electoral arena.

It is certainly necessary to "realistically project the possibilities" of "electoral struggles and victories" at a particular point in time. But to simultaneously project "limitations" on the outcome of future struggles in either the electoral or non-electoral arena weakens the fight around urgent *immediate* issues while in no way clarifying the form or content of future struggles. In fact, the "Open Letter" fails to show the relationship between present struggles and an "ultimate solution"; instead, it creates a loss of confidence in the value of a mass alternative to break through the *present* "limitations" now imposed by monopoly in and out of the electoral arena.

By placing "limitations" on the future potential of particular mass struggles, the "Open Letter" implies that the form in which the revolutionary transition to socialism will take place is predictable in advance. It is saying, in other words, that the ruling class—whatever the historical context—will impose the form in which the "ultimate" transition will be fought out. This emphasis on form rather than the content of revolutionary transition confirms anew the underlying weakness of the "Open Letter": an orientation away from the working class content of *both* present and "ultimate" struggles.

This weakness accounts for the primary emphasis in the "Open Letter" on—and implied prediction of—the form of transition. In reality, however, the specific form of revolutionary transition cannot be predicted; it will be determined in each country by specific class relations, internal and external situation, etc. However, what can and *must* be predicted is *class content*: Whatever the form of the increasingly sharp class struggles required to lead to the revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, the *content*—i.e., the shift in state power from monopoly capital to the working class heading an alliance of all exploited and oppressed—is *unvarying*.

Yet for all its bold talk of "the taking of political, economic and social control" and its super-revolutionary implications about the form of transition, the "Open Letter" denies the *class content* of the revolutionary process—a denial inherent in its call for a new "historic bloc," with the "initiative" of "groups" replacing the primary role of the

working class. That its new "historic bloc," its "instrumentality" for "taking . . . control" is an abstraction, unrelated to the reality of classes and the role of the working class, is underscored when the "Open Letter" states that:

. . . for the first time in history, a victorious [U.S.] people, after ousting their capitalist rulers, would be faced with the perspective of being able to construct a society in which the material forces of production are already more than sufficiently developed to provide an economy of plenty, not only sufficient for every person in this country but capable of participating in the efforts of all countries to achieve the level of productivity necessary for an economy of abundance. . . . The objective conditions may exist for the first experience in human history of the "withering away" of the coercive form of state after the taking of power by the people. This is a fantastic possibility which profoundly shapes the nature of the new society which we can build. (Ibid., pp. 17-18)

From this statement emerges a striking paradox in the "Open Letter" predictions. On one hand, it indicates in essence that those now in control of the United States will continue to be so powerful that the "ultimate" transition from capitalism to socialism can be made only through armed struggle. Then—swinging from leftism to right opportunism—it projects a future in which the "withering away" of the necessity of state rule of the working class in alliance with the formerly oppressed and exploited takes place right after monopoly capitalism is dislodged! Thus, the "Open Letter" contradicts the very purpose—i.e., "taking political, economic and social control"—for which it has conjured up a new "historical bloc"!

This fantasy of the instant fading away of the most powerful exploiting class in history, the instant disappearance of its heritage of racism and oppression—without a period of transition when state power is in the hands of the multi-racial working class—denies the very essence of the class struggle and its relationship to state power, of the class content of revolutionary transition from capitalism to building a socialist society. It falsifies Marx's concept of the "withering away" of the state, and substitutes a strange amalgam—from Bakunin to Kautsky to Garaudy—of opposition to Marxism.

Of course, a victorious people in the United States will have the "perspective of being able to construct a society in which the material forces of production" are far in advance of those in Russia at the time of the October Revolution and in Cuba when its revolution took place. This U.S. advantage emerges from a long history of slavery, super-exploitation and oppression, domestically and internationally. But the

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already existing "objective conditions" for an "economy of plenty" do not alter the *class content* of a perspective of sharp class struggle, culminating in the rule of the working class allied with the masses of oppressed and exploited.

The "Open Letter"'s "perspective" is one that merges Roger Garaudy's concept of the scientific and technological revolution with Karl Kautsky's reformist idea of higher levels of "material forces of production" evolving into socialism. Both these views are based on levels of technology, rather than class struggle, as the motive force for social change.

An Inevitable Interrelationship

Inevitably, there is an interrelationship between the analysis in the "Open Letter" of imperialism's internal contradictions (from its un-Marxist interpretation of the "expanding nature of the working class" as the basis for a new "historical bloc" to its "internal colony" concept) and its analysis of the contradictions between imperialism and anti-imperialism on a world scale.

After a declaration of its anti-imperialist objectives—"The party of the people will be totally dedicated to the destruction of imperialism at home and abroad—the "Open Letter" goes on to state:

The party must not only organize support for these many liberation struggles which are shaking the very foundations of imperialist rule, it must be prepared to open within the imperialist country itself struggles in every area against those policies of the imperialist ruling class which perpetuate its domination around the world. . . . [Events] are exploding which require and will continue to require militant mass intervention by the people of this country acting in alliance with oppressed nations and peoples internationally. A party of the people built in the homeland of the most powerful imperialist rule, must as a basic and fundamental aspect of its purpose help organize appropriate forms in the development of these struggles to overthrow and destroy imperialism as a world system of exploitation. (Ibid., p. 15)

The anti-imperialist goals expressed in the "Open Letter" can, of course, be won only through policies that stimulate united anti-imperialist action. However, for its policies to evoke "appropriate forms" of struggle—in other words, for its policies to point in the same direction as its goals—requires, among other things, correction of a not-so-slight factual error.

Imperialism is *not*, as the "Open Letter" has it, a "world system." It

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lost that status with the October Revolution! Today there are two systems in the world: the socialist system—with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union; and the capitalist system, which has been losing ground (literally and figuratively) ever since the birth of the U.S.S.R. And the *primary* global contradiction is between the socialist system and the United States as the main support of declining capitalism.

Another area where the "Open Letter" policies conflict with its anti-imperialist goals is in its treatment of liberation strategy; as we have seen, it regards a liberation strategy for colonially oppressed majorities in countries dominated by an *external* imperialist oppressor as *interchangeable* with a liberation strategy for Blacks and other oppressed minorities *within* the United States. Contradictorily, while the "Open Letter" promotes as interchangeable a strategy that can't be transplanted from one country to another, it in effect rejects what *must* be interchangeable: anti-imperialist solidarity within the triple currents of the world revolutionary process—the solidarity of the socialist camp, the working classes and oppressed peoples in the imperialist countries, and the peoples in the "third world" nations.

The reason why the "Open Letter" objectively rejects international solidarity is that, while calling for the "people of this country" to act "in alliance with oppressed nations and peoples internationally," it omits from this "alliance" the socialist camp—the very countries that have abolished oppression in their own lands and are now the single most decisive support for the world liberation movements, the force that has already tipped the scales to the side of liberation throughout most of the "third world"! Whether intended or not, this implicit anti-Communist, anti-Soviet orientation can be of assistance only to the strategy of neo-colonialism, which has already found such a helping hand from Maoist opposition to solidarity against imperialism.

"Present Day Realities"?

Not only does the "Open Letter" exclude the socialist camp from its proposed actions in support of the "third world" peoples, but it also projects a future "vision" of what socialism in the United States will do for the "third world" countries as a substitute for an immediate anti-imperialist obligation to support *present* policies and actions advancing the immediate needs of the oppressed internationally and at home. The "Open Letter" states:

We must struggle to find understandable and concrete ways to always place our vision of a socialist society within the context of

present day realities and what socialism in this country will mean to people's lives here and throughout the world.

For example, for the first time in history a victorious people after ousting their capitalist rulers, would be faced with the perspective of being able to construct a society in which the material forces of production are already more than sufficiently developed to provide an economy of plenty, not only sufficient for every person in this country but capable of participating in the efforts of all countries to achieve the level of productivity necessary for an economy of abundance. (Ibid., p. 17)

One might well stop to consider what it means for North Americans speaking as revolutionaries to tell African, Asian and Latin American peoples struggling against neo-colonialism that they can expect support from U.S. anti-imperialists *after* a socialist "economy of plenty" has been attained in the United States. Can the "third world" peoples interpret this as anything other than a reflection of the influences of national arrogance and chauvinism?

Central to present-day realities for the "third world" peoples is mounting political and material support for their liberation movements from *existing* socialist countries. Instead of telling "third world" peoples to reject what they're now getting from the socialist camp and wait for what they'll get from a future U.S. society, North Americans must fight *now* to break U.S. imperialism's neo-colonial links to the "third world" as part of the struggle for socialism in the United States.

Present-day reality for many "third world" countries means taking a non-capitalist path—economic and social development leading toward socialism—in order to consolidate their newly won independence. This is a paramount reason why these countries consider policies that would isolate them from the Soviet Union and the socialist camp neither "socialist" nor "anti-imperialist"!

Surely it is an opportunist "vision" of what "socialism in this country will mean to people's lives here and throughout the world" that denies the "present day realities" of what the socialist camp is doing *now* to build societies without racism, oppression and exploitation at home—while at the same time giving increasing political, social and material support to African, Asian and Latin American liberation struggles. Moreover, the existing socialist camp is the strongest force in the fight for peace—the fight to reduce imperialism's options for intervention in the lives of peoples struggling for peace, liberation and social progress.

This fight for peaceful coexistence, for detente, is central to the anti-imperialist struggle at home and internationally. Yet the "Open

Letter" says not a word about what this means now or in the future to "people's lives here and throughout the world"—a silence that can only be interpreted as indifference or opposition. But the "third world" peoples—those who have won independence and those still fighting for it—are among the first to reject opposition to detente as counter to their interests, to reject all anti-Communist, anti-Soviet policies aimed at separating them from their most decisive allies, the socialist camp.

By contrast, those U.S. radicals who would postpone united anti-imperialist support to "third world" struggles until the arrival of socialism in the United States rationalize this objective retreat from the anti-imperialist fight by asserting that support to policies of detente, of peaceful coexistence, slows the revolutionary process. Such radicals claim the fight for detente is an abandonment of the class struggle, nationally and internationally.

If the revolutionary meaning of the fight for detente—its connection, for example, to the struggles of the multi-racial U.S. working class—escapes the "Open Letter," it's not lost on an increasing number of jobless workers. For instance, an article in *The New York Times* (November 18, 1974), based on interviews with laid-off Detroit auto workers, reported the following:

"They done pushed the people too hard," said a man called Stash, "and now they're giving them a hard luck story. Cuba wants cars. Why not swing a deal with them?"

In speaking of Cuba's need for cars and his own need for a job, this auto worker dramatizes the mutual stake of all peoples in the revolutionary struggle to end the crumbling imperialist blockade of Cuba, to break imperialism's economic, political and military hold on African, Asian and Latin American countries, and to stop its escalating nuclear threat against the socialist camp.

Liberation and Detente

How can one reconcile the call in the "Open Letter" for "struggles in every area against those policies of the imperialist ruling class which perpetuate its domination around the world," with its silent dismissal of the struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence?

Isn't the crushing armaments burden imposed by imperialism linked to the crisis of existence for the exploited and oppressed here and in all capitalist countries? Isn't the struggle to force imperialism's retreat from its cold war positions of intervention and armed confrontation central to the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa, Asia and Latin

America—i.e., "in every area"? How can one talk of stopping U.S. imperialism without forcing it to respect the right of peaceful coexistence for the Soviet Union and the socialist camp? The struggle to make peaceful coexistence irreversible is the core of the anti-imperialists' struggle for liberation and social progress, for the right of all peoples to coexist in a world free from imperialist economic, political and military intervention in any form.

And how can one reconcile the call in the "Open Letter" for a party of the people "totally dedicated to the destruction of imperialism at home and abroad" with its failure to call for struggle against imperialism's greatest threat—nuclear war? There is no alternative to the danger of nuclear destruction except the fight for detente, for curbing the imperialist-imposed armaments race. And this is a fight that cannot be postponed until the "destruction of imperialism at home and abroad"—since prevention of nuclear destruction is paramount to achieving that goal!

Indifference or opposition to the policy of peaceful coexistence generates a kind of negative logic, in the form of a sequence of concepts and policies contradicting the struggle against U.S. imperialism. For instance: the "Open Letter" eloquently calls for North American support to the Puerto Rican independence movement. But it weakens and contradicts this appeal by failing to call for an end to U.S. imperialism's economic blockade against socialist Cuba. Undoubtedly, this contradiction arises from the notion that the fight for peaceful coexistence slows the struggle for liberation.

But, of course, it is not support to the policy of peaceful coexistence that slows the liberation struggles, but opposition to it. For example, smashing the blockade against Cuba would open a perspective for trade—which at the same time mutually benefits socialism in Cuba and the anti-monopoly struggle in the United States—for peaceful coexistence between Cuba and the United States. But, according to certain radicals, peaceful coexistence slows the revolutionary process. Therefore, these radicals make a separation between the necessity for unity around the struggle for Puerto Rican independence and the struggle for Cuba's right to exist.

But this logic of the absurd cannot conceal reality: every step toward detente, for the right of socialist Cuba to coexist and accelerate its building of a socialist society in this hemisphere, gives incalculable impetus to Cuba's escalating impact on the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Therefore, the fight to break the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba and the fight for Puerto Rican liberation are two parts of a *single*

anti-imperialist struggle: the right of nations to exist off the shores of the United States without interference from U.S. imperialism.

Developments that force U.S. imperialism to end its economic blockade of Cuba, and compel it to retreat to a position of peaceful coexistence with socialist Cuba, would simultaneously have a powerful impact on the Puerto Rican independence fight and on all Latin American struggles for independent existence as well as the right of each country to choose its own path for social progress.

If one recognizes the significance of peaceful coexistence for Latin American liberation, then one can begin to comprehend the immense global significance of the struggle to make detente and peaceful coexistence irreversible between the United States and the Soviet Union and the socialist camp—with which Cuba is united.

It is the revolutionary dynamics of the fight to enforce the right of peaceful coexistence being waged by the socialist camp and the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world that accelerates and widens the scope of the world revolutionary process—encompassing the forces of socialism, and of class and national liberation.

Front Rankers in the Class Struggle

The style of attacks on Marxism-Leninism in the name of "revolution" changes, it sometimes seems, almost as frequently as traffic lights. And these "revolutionary" assaults—which always have as their core a challenge to the Marxist-Leninist concept of the leading role of the industrial working class—receive more than a mere passive welcome from monopoly. Monopoly subsidizes, promotes and publicizes them through its centers of education and mass media.

Some individuals, for example, such as Professor Herbert Marcuse in the 1960s, become widely known for their contributions to a "new" and "more revolutionary" ideology. However, these "latest models" in revolution have a pronounced tendency toward obsolescence, and Marcuse's concept, for example, has already been forced into semi-retirement.

In Marcuse's view, the working class was hopelessly reactionary and contentedly integrated into the system—the upholders, not the gravediggers, of capitalism. As an accompaniment to Marcuse's ideological dismissal of the working class, other "theoreticians" dismissed it numerically—claiming it was being automated out of existence. Fortunately, according to Marcuse, a truly revolutionary force had arrived to replace the working class: the students. It was because of the influence of such anti-Marxist views that the New Left aged rapidly and passed from the scene.

Among the reasons for a relatively rapid refutation of theories on the irrelevance of the working class was the surfacing of new facts—i.e.,

far from causing its decline, technology was expanding the size of the working class! At the same time, it became impossible to advance the concept of students as the revolutionary replacement for the working class, in the face of the incontrovertible evidence that the student movement could not sustain activity without a relationship to working-class struggle.

This disproving of Marcusean views has not, of course, diminished attacks on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the industrial working class. Far from it. Such challenges are now being advanced by other "theoreticians" in somewhat modified form.

Among those attempting to fill the small gap left by the Marcuseans is Arthur Kinoy. Kinoy, a lawyer, lacks Marcuse's academic mystique and his constituents, and is unlikely to reach the prominence of Marcuse in the pseudo-radical field. Nevertheless, Kinoy's view can serve as a point of reference for concepts held in certain areas on the Left.

At this historic moment the struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence opens up the possibility for a break with monopoly's politics and economics—hot and cold war, racism, anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism—that led from McCarthyism to Watergate. For this is a time when the working classes and the oppressed peoples in the United States and everywhere in the capitalist world, together with the socialist and "third world" countries, are on the move launching an offensive against imperialism.

Those radicals who deny the role of the working class as central to the struggle for an alternative to monopoly at home, who reject the policies of detente and peaceful coexistence advanced by the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union—which are central to a people's offensive in the United States, Western Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America—these radicals operate against Marxism and the people in the name of "Marxism" and the "people." In distorting the role of the socialist camp, and in opposing unity in the struggle for detente, these radicals ironically parallel bourgeois liberals and ultra-Rightists in both monopolist parties who are opponents of detente.

In their writings and speeches, these radicals—among them Arthur Kinoy—claim they are overcoming "distortions" of Marxism-Leninism. Yet their positions on foreign and domestic policy reflect bourgeois, anti-Marxist ideology, capitulation to monopoly's ideological offensive, aimed at blocking emergence of the working class as an independent political force, the center of unity for a multi-racial, multi-strata, anti-monopoly movement.

In a lengthy mimeographed document, Kinoy calls for "developing

an independent force powerful enough to lead and organize the struggle for power." In order to develop this "independent force" and advance "the struggle for power," one must—it would seem apparent—consider the great potential inherent in the struggle for detente in breaking the grip of monopoly's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and racist neo-colonialist policies. Kinoy, however, reverses this logic and accepts the politics of anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism and racism as the *starting point* for building this "independent force."

Kinoy's "Image" of the Soviet Union

Kinoy falsely concludes that the Communist Party long ago gave up "the struggle for power" and instead relied on the "image" of socialism in the Soviet Union as "the catalyst" that would in itself bring socialism to the United States and the world. He writes:

... a new ingredient was added to the thinking of the left in the '30s and '40s which was, later, to have the most traumatic effect upon an entire generation of activists and organizers throughout the world. The catalyst which somehow would bring about "some day" the enormous change—the leap to a new society—would be the impact upon working people in the capitalist world of the image of the socialist society being built in the Soviet Union. (Mimeographed document, p. 12. Emphasis in the original.)

Imperialism's propaganda "image" of the Soviet Union—as a "threat" that must be "contained" has proved a costly one to the people of this country and the world. It is this false "image" by imperialism that has provided the justification for hot and cold war, poverty, repression, and mounting armaments and inflation. Yet Kinoy not only overlooks the incalculable burden this "image" has placed on the people; he himself becomes a reflector of it, when he claims that the "image" of the Soviet Union allegedly projected by the CPUSA has weakened the "struggle for power" in the United States.

In Kinoy's incredible reversal of history, it is the "image" of the Soviet Union—not of U.S. imperialism, which took over the Hitlerian banner of racism and anti-Communism as central to its global strategy—that had a "most traumatic effect" on the unity of labor and the people's movement.

Unlike Kinoy, we Communists refuse to lend monopoly our assistance in its anti-Soviet perversions of reality. On the contrary, we are proud of our constant struggle to project a true image of the Soviet Union, recognizing it as an indispensable element in the working class's historic struggle for power. However, along with our feeling of pride, we

are self-critical that we have not conducted our offensive against imperialism's "image" of the Soviet Union on a much broader scale. Far from surrendering to the Right and "Left" opportunism of those who would have us believe the key to organizing a mass "revolutionary" movement is acceptance of imperialism's anti-Sovietism, our aim is to vastly increase the scale of our attack against imperialist ideology—at the center of which is anti-Sovietism.

In the face of the most virulent ruling-class assaults, the Communist Party has always exposed the link between monopoly's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda "image" and its racist aggressions, nationally and internationally. Today, this exposure is as vital to the struggle against imperialism's racist, anti-labor and neo-colonialist policies as it was to the fight against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Fascist Axis. History reveals that the Soviet Union, the only socialist state at that time, played the decisive role in saving the world from the racist, genocidal consequences of anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

Instead of allowing themselves to be influenced by the propaganda of the imperialists they oppose, many radicals would find it valuable to ponder the reasons for imperialism's prodigious, though futile, efforts to efface the great moral, political, social and economic image of the Soviet Union—the land where imperialism, national oppression and class exploitation were first abolished, under the leadership of the working class and its Leninist vanguard, the Communist Party. This was the land which succeeded in welding unity of democrats and anti-Fascists all over the world and brought victory over German, Japanese and Italian fascist expansion in Europe, Asia and Africa—less than 30 years after world imperialism's attempt to strangle this first socialist state—and opened up a new page in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. This was the land that played the decisive role in forcing U.S. imperialists to retreat after 20 years of hot- and cold-war attempts to achieve the global domination that the Axis powers failed to accomplish. What an "image"!

Of course, no class or liberation movement anywhere in the world can make headway without depending first of all on its own resources. At the same time, it must be recognized that advances anywhere against imperialism are inextricably linked to the role of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, which accelerates the struggle against international monopoly in the imperialist countries and in the countries struggling for liberation under imperialism. Further, no gains can be made anywhere in the struggle against class and national and racial oppression if the people's movements are "traumatized" by anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

Rejecting monopoly's anti-Soviet "image" and its "traumatic effect" on the anti-monopoly struggle does not imply reliance on a Soviet "catalyst" as the substitute for mass struggle against one's own ruling class. On the contrary, rejection of such an "image" strengthens the consciousness of the working class, and is a vital ingredient in the struggle to put the working class on the high road toward independent action—enabling it to become the "catalyst," the decisive component, in the formation of a wide anti-monopoly struggle, the only basis for a winning strategy against monopoly.

In the opening lines of the *Communist Manifesto*, written in 1848 when the modern working class was emerging, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels noted that Communist influence on the working class was already a "specter . . . haunting" the exploiters and oppressors. At a time when the ruling-class alliances of the world—from Czarist Russia to North America—were doing all in their power to maintain the survivals of serfdom and chattel slavery, Marx and Engels proclaimed that the workers of the world "disdained" to hide their common aims of expropriating the expropriators and establishing rule of the working class.

Surely today, when the "specter" that "haunted" the rulers of the 19th century has become the most decisive force on earth, the CPUSA can do no less than "disdain" to hide its common aims with the Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, in the forefront of which are the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other Leninist parties of the socialist countries. Today, ties of solidarity, which the CPUSA proudly proclaims, unite the parties where the working class is in power—from Moscow to Hanoi and Pyongyang, from Berlin to Havana—and the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries with the workers and peoples of the world in the struggle for class and national liberation. These are three currents of a single revolutionary process.

Kinoy's mind-bending anti-Soviet distortion of history is brought to us at a moment when U.S. imperialism is in deepest crisis. At a time when the rank and file of labor and the masses of exploited and oppressed—from Vietnam to Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Lisbon, Paris, Rome and New York—are moving into a new level of struggle against the "traumatic effect" of imperialism's anti-Communist, anti-Soviet, racist strategy, monopoly must find new ways to carry on its ideological assaults. This is why there are attacks against Marxism-Leninism in the name of "Marxism-Leninism," just as there are attacks against racial equality—in the infamous DeFunis case, for example—in the name of "equality."

The views of radicals such as Kinoy are part of the new stage in the ideological thrust against the Marxist-Leninist policies of detente and peaceful coexistence of the world Communist and Workers' Parties. In the caricatures prolifically sketched by these radicals, the long struggle for peaceful coexistence—initiated by Lenin at the founding of the first socialist state—is replaced by a scene in which the Communists urge the masses to rely on the "image" of the Soviet Union, the "catalyst" making it unnecessary for them to wage the class struggle in their own countries. Thus, these radicals who warn the Left against a Moscow that "exports revolution"—instead of joining the struggle to prevent U.S. imperialism from exporting *counter-revolution*—accommodate their views to the "image" of anti-Soviet class collaboration put forth by the Meanys and Lovestones on the Right, and the Trotskyites and Maoists on the "Left."

"Placing One's Reliance On The Ruling Class"

As part of his caricature of the struggle for detente, Kinoy not only alleges that the CPUSA urges the masses to substitute an exported "catalyst" for class struggle, but that it also calls upon the people to place their "reliance upon the liberal wing of the ruling class." He says:

The beauty of this metaphysics [Kinoy's "catalyst" theory] was that it justified the immediate strategy of placing one's reliance upon the liberal wing of the ruling class in one's own country because this would encourage an alliance with the Soviets which, in turn, would in some way prove to the people of the capitalist world (through its own image) the vast superiority of socialism, the new society, over capitalism, the old society. This obviated the necessity for the *primary* thrust towards a transfer in state power, a revolutionary change, to come from *within* the capitalist country itself. Subtly and quietly, it shifted the role of the Left *away from* its original and historic responsibility for developing an independent force powerful enough to lead and organize the struggle for power to the task of becoming organizers for the liberal wing of the ruling class. (Ibid., p. 13. Emphasis in the original.)

Although Kinoy speaks of "developing an independent force powerful enough to lead and organize the struggle for power," he does not tell us what *kind* of "force"—or strategy—is needed "to lead and organize the struggle." Nor does he tell us what "force" the struggle should be aimed *against*. And while he talks of "the necessity for the *primary* thrust toward a transfer in state power," he neglects to identify the "force" to which he believes state power should be transferred.

Kinoy proposes "a transfer in state power"—which, in the scientific

sense, would mean a revolutionary shift from capitalist to working-class rule—as an immediate task at a moment when the immediate task is to advance independent working-class action around the burning issues of the day. The future promise of a "transfer in state power" can be realized only from the struggles of the present, and the "primary thrust" of the masses is already in motion against the escalating monopoly-imposed burden of armaments, inflation, poverty and unemployment, felt by all the people and weighing especially on the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and Native American minorities.

To ignore the fact that the primary task is to strengthen the mounting thrust toward a great anti-monopoly movement, with the working class as the leading force, is to step aside from the needs and struggles of the people. To do this would amount not only to "becoming organizers for the liberal wing of the ruling class," but to giving support to its most racist, reactionary sectors. A left-sounding call for a "primary threat toward a transfer in state power" cannot camouflage the fact that what Kinoy has proposed is a strategy for demobilizing—not organizing—the struggle against monopoly capital, the class in power.

In labeling the struggle for peaceful coexistence as an "alliance" between the Soviet Union and the United States, Kinoy can only be interpreted as echoing an amalgam of forces ranging from the Maoists and Trotskyites to the Right social democrats, the liberal bourgeoisie and the ultra-Right.

The struggle for detente, for peaceful coexistence, does not represent an "alliance"—but a new, a higher stage of the international class struggle between the two social systems. One wonders just how Kinoy's opposition to the struggle to break state monopoly capitalism's grip on U.S. global operations helps bring about a "revolutionary change, to come from *within* the capitalist country itself."

The essence of Leninism is the recognition of the indivisibility of all aspects of policy. The revolutionary process within the United States can be moved forward only by a strategy that recognizes the inseparability of the fight for democratic advance "*within* the capitalist country itself," and the struggle to end U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary role *throughout* the world. This is the objective of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. When Kinoy's "primary thrust" is to distort the meaning of peaceful coexistence, it is he—not the Communists—who has "subtly and quietly" shifted "the role of the Left *away from* its original and historic responsibility for developing an independent force powerful enough to lead and organize the struggle for power."

When Kinoy portrays the Communist Party's advocacy of peaceful coexistence as "urging reliance on the liberal wing of the ruling class,"

he—from a “Left” stance—joins the “liberal wing of the ruling class” and the ultra-Right senators—the Jacksons, Goldwaters and Wallaces—in using the “traumatic” strategy of anti-Sovietism against the hard-won steps toward detente. Whatever his intent, Kinoy’s treatment of the central contradiction today between the world system of socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, and world imperialism, with the United States at its center, fits into monopoly’s strategy to divert the working class and the oppressed of the United States from a struggle to influence affairs of state.

As early as 1895, Lenin challenged the Kinoy’s of his day, who did not grasp the role of the working class and the revolutionary meaning of proletarian internationalism. He wrote:

... the class-consciousness of the workers means the workers’ understanding that to achieve their aims they have to work to influence affairs of state, just as the landlords and the capitalists did, and are continuing to do now. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 2, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960, p. 113)

“Mutual Learning Process”

At a time when all but ultra-Right red-baiters have found that tagging the CPUSA with the “foreign agent” label is too crude a device to be effective, this now fossilized red herring has been dredged up from the “Left.” To pursue his polemic—in which setbacks are divorced from monopoly’s hot- and cold-war, racist and anti-Communist offensive at home and abroad—Kinoy depicts the CP as a “foreign agent” promoting a Soviet “catalyst.”

Although the introduction of the word “catalyst” (interestingly enough, a synonym for “agent”!) is a new semantic touch, it is not “subtle” enough to “shift” our attention away from the fact that Kinoy surrenders to monopoly’s anti-Communist tactics when he writes:

The dynamics of the projection of this “catalyst” role of the *image* of the Soviet Union on the long-range responsibilities of the American Left to prepare for the “ultimate” struggle requires intensive and thoughtful study in terms of its effect upon the tactics and the psychology of the Left during the past thirty years. . . . Such an exploration is essential to development of the type of mutual learning process between the old and new Left which Staughton Lynd called for. . . . (Mimeographed document, p. 13)

Oddly enough, an article by Lynd, “A Chapter from History: The United Labor Party, 1946–1952” (*Liberation*, December 1973) does indeed contribute to a “mutual learning process”—although hardly in a

way intended by either Lynd or Kinoy. In this article, Lynd tells of the United Labor Party, a left group in Ohio, which played an “avant-garde” anti-Communist role by orienting itself almost three decades ago on the same approach Kinoy calls for today.

Although Lynd seems to consider the Ohio group a prototype for the Left today, his account reveals that the demise of such “Left” groups in the 1940s and 1950s foreshadowed the fate of groups influenced by the policies Kinoy now projects as “new.” “Only six years after its founding,” relates Lynd, the ULP “dissolved itself into an amorphous movement known as the American Rally, less radical and less oriented toward workers, which in turn dissolved not long thereafter.”

“What,” asks Lynd, “went wrong?” “Certain answers,” he states, “are obvious.” For example:

The coming of the Cold War put the party on the defensive. It was difficult to make clear to voters the difference between the socialism which the ULP espoused and the communism which it ostentatiously disavowed. John Barbero, one of the steelworkers in Youngstown whose memories of the party so intrigued me, recalls that after 1950, “it just became impossible. We had an anti-war pamphlet on the Korean War that we wanted to distribute at the mill gates but [the atmosphere] was too hostile. It never got out. (Lynd, “A Chapter from History”)

Citing another example of “what went wrong,” Lynd writes:

The possibilities and frustrations of the ULP in its relations to the trade unions are illustrated by two events in 1950. The Akron CIO Council prevented the immediate cessation of rent control in that city by gathering 12,000 signatures to force a municipal referendum on the question. The success of the petition work was largely due to the efforts of Marie Wagner and Bob Brenneman, who as delegates to the CIO Council from their Goodyear local activated and organized the drive. But when the same Bob Brenneman ran relatively well as the ULP candidate in the Congressional election, Earl Jordan of the Goodyear local stated: “Why shouldn’t he be thrown out? He refuses to follow national and local CIO policy every year. We threw the Commies out for refusing to follow CIO policy, didn’t we?” (Ibid.)

Even this mini-history of this “premature” New Left group is a devastating indictment of the Kinoy version of history, all too clearly illustrating the “traumatic effect” of anti-Communist tactics on the struggle against reaction.

A ULP protesting its anti-Communism became paralyzed when it came to protesting in the interests of the people. The McCarthyite attacks against its members led not to a determination to fight back, but

had the "traumatic effect" of dissolving the ULP "into an amorphous organization," which soon disappeared.

But as is well known, the Communist Party—despite the "atmosphere"—took the struggle against the Korean War to "the mill gates" and throughout the country. And far from "dissolving" because of McCarthyite attacks against it, the CP played a leading role in the fight to end McCarthyite repression against the people.

If Lynd and Kinoy would draw the not at all subtle lessons from this little fragment out of the past, they would indeed make a contribution "essential to the development" of a "mutual learning process"—one that would broaden Left unity against the monopolist enemy.

"Which Sector of Society is Most Advanced?"

It is only logical that radicals who reject the decisive role of the working class in power—the socialist community of nations—in the world revolutionary process will also deny the decisive role of the working class in the capitalist countries. Kinoy, for instance, reflects the "latest" in bourgeois theories of the "post-industrial society," which assert that the Marxist concept of the workers in industry as the leading force for social change has been made outmoded by the revolution in science and technology, when he states:

... it is essential that we not be paralyzed by sterile and dogmatic formulations from the experiences of past years which would lead to futile debates as to whether the working class is necessarily the "only leading" revolutionary force at every level of the struggle to come. What must be understood is that the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which has so infected and poisoned every aspect of society has created a situation in which many groups of oppressed people now have, together with the workers, an objective and real stake in the taking of power. This means that an academic discussion as to which sector of society is most advanced, as to which group of the oppressed peoples is the "leading" group, is not particularly helpful at best, and can be enervating and divisive at worst. ("A Party of the People," *Liberation*, December 1973)

Despite a slight nod in the direction of the working class, Kinoy here reveals that he goes even "beyond" Marcuse in negating the role of the working class. Of course, "many groups" are oppressed "together with the workers," and of course Marxism has always recognized that many non-working-class strata "have together with the workers, an objective and real stake in the taking of power."

But when Kinoy precedes the above statement with the word *now*,

he is implying that this is a *new* phenomenon. By injecting the word "now," he attempts to offer a rationale for shifting the "leading revolutionary force" away from a *class* to "groups" or "people." But no amount of juggling can provide a scientific basis for dispensing with the working class as the motive force for change.

Many radicals who share other key aspects of Kinoy's ideology have found his crude substitution of "group" or "people" for *class* hard to take, and have sought more sophisticated "alternatives" to the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the working class. Such radicals, including some in the New American Movement (NAM), prefer to revise Marx, Engels, and Lenin via Daniel Bell or Roger Garaudy, for example, rather than Kinoy or even Marcuse.

Those who look to Bell for "alternatives" are informed that "simplified Marxian categories no longer hold. The most important [such category] clearly is that of the leading role of the working class." (Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, Basic Books, New York, 1973)

To back up his theory of the obsolescence of Marxist concepts of the working class, Bell resorts to manipulation. He quotes out of context from a study by Radovan Richta and a research team from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, as follows:

"An entirely new phenomenon, demonstrating the disparity between the scientific and technological revolution and industrialization is the turn to a *relative* decline in the amount of labor absorbed by industry and associated activities—accompanied by a strong shift from the traditional branches to the progressive within industry. This tendency clearly refutes the standpoint giving absolute validity to the industrialization process and the structure of the industrial society. . . ." (Quoted in *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, pp. 107–108)

Richta then goes on to predict:

"In general, we can assume that in the course of the scientific and technological revolution the volume of 'services' will grow to the point of occupying 40–60 per cent of national labor in coming decades, with a still bigger share in the long term. The civilization to which we are advancing might accordingly quite well be called 'post-industrial civilization'. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 108)

Not only does Bell quote Richta out of context. He also fails to mention that Richta's analysis formed the basis for Richta's opposition to those in Czechoslovakia who sought to revise Marxism in the name of Marxism. In the 1960s in Czechoslovakia, changes in the structure of the working class which accompanied the technological revolution were

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used to justify theories proclaiming the obsolescence of the working class's leading role. The extent of Bell's deception is revealed in the fact that he quotes from Richta in order to create the impression he and Richta share the view that "post-industrial" changes form the basis for the disappearance of the leading role of the working class, particularly its front-rank detachment. But in reading Richta, one learns he expressed the view that socialist Czechoslovakia could progress toward a classless Communist society *only* by strengthening the leading role of the working class and its front-rank detachment.

When Richta states that "the civilization to which we [in Czechoslovakia] are advancing might accordingly quite well be called 'post-industrial civilization,' " he is not speaking of Bell's "post-industrial" society where monopoly still rules. Only a socialist society can advance toward realizing the full potential of the scientific and technological revolution. In socialist societies, the newer, more progressive industries (electronic, chemical, etc.) are linked with the transition from the socialist principle—from each according to his or her ability—to the Communist principle—to each according to his or her needs.

Richta linked his use of "post-industrial civilization" with the leading role of the working class in moving toward a classless, Communist society. In other words, Richta upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle of the working class and especially its front-rank detachment as the leading force for society's advance under socialism, just as it is the leading force for revolution in the capitalist sectors of the world.

Despite the continuously decisive position, quantitatively and qualitatively, of workers in mass industry and transport, it is now fashionable among some U.S. radicals to counterpose the more rapid expansion of the number of wage and salaried workers in the service areas—clerical, educational, scientific, professional—against the production and transport core of the working class.

Asserting that "classical" Marxism did not anticipate such changes in the scope and characteristics of the working class, these radicals claim that the scientific and technological revolution has made obsolete the "traditional" Marxist view of the industrial proletariat.

But nothing is so dated as a "new" attempt to prove Marxism out of date. In 1894 Lenin was combating the view that capitalism's *objective* unification of ever larger sections of the population into the proletariat negated the industrial proletariat's role as the advance detachment providing the unifying center for leadership of all the oppressed and exploited. Lenin pointed out:

... by the development of capitalism and the socialization of labor in general, by the creation of a proletariat in general ... the factory

Front Rankers in the Class Struggle

workers play the role only of *front rankers, the vanguard*. [Emphasis added]. There is of course, no doubt that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat depends on the number of these workers, on their concentration, on the degree of their development, etc.; but all this does not give us the slightest right to equate the "unifying significance" of capitalism with the number of factory workers. (Collected Works, Vol. 1, p. 316. Emphasis of latter in the original.)

At that time, those who challenged "classical" Marxism claimed it was "inapplicable" to Russia because of the small size of the factory proletariat as compared to Western Europe and North America. Today, those in the United States who challenge "classical" Marxism claim its concept of the "front rankers" is "inapplicable" because the segment of service and scientific workers brought into the working class by capitalism is larger than the industrial proletariat. That these two challenges to "classical" Marxism are merely different strains of the same theme can be seen in the following, which Lenin wrote in 1899:

In all spheres of people's labor, capitalism increases the number of *office and professional workers* with particular rapidity and makes a growing demand for intellectuals. The latter occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly to the wage-workers as capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard. (Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 202. Emphasis added.)

However, as Lenin pointed out, the numerical increase of this stratum cannot lend it the characteristics needed for playing the leading unifying role:

The transitory, unstable, contradictory position of this stratum of society now under discussion, is reflected in the particularly widespread diffusion in its midst of hybrid, eclectic views, a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas, an urge to rise verbally to the higher sphere and to conceal the conflicts between the historical groups of the population with phrases—all of which Marx lashed with his sarcasm half a century ago. (Ibid.)

Today, monopoly invests huge resources in the ideological area. The deepening crisis of capitalism in the face of the shift of power in favor of the world forces of socialism, class and national liberation and the changes in composition of the working class, compel monopoly to "make a growing demand for intellectuals." The ruling class exploits the tendency of this group to attach itself "partly to the bourgeoisie," and increasingly though contradictorily, "partly to the wage-workers, as

capitalism increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standards." Monopoly's need for intellectuals and professionals in order to distort their radicalization and incorporate them into the offensive against Marxism-Leninism has increased vastly.

Monopoly's "widespread diffusion" of "hybrid, eclectic views, a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas"—at the center of the current discussion of the technological and scientific revolution—is aimed at isolating and dissipating mounting struggles in the labor movement. It is no accident that these massive attempts to disprove the Marxist-Leninist concept of the basic production nucleus as the group capable of carrying on the most sustained meaningful struggles against monopoly come at a time of sharpening rank-and-file struggles in mass-industry and transport to break away from the class-collaboration policies of the Lovestones, Abels, Meanys and Shankers.

New Forces, Broader Prospects

Of course, it is true that the new forces expanding the working population open up even broader prospects for widening and strengthening the anti-monopoly struggle. But the increase in the number of wage and salaried workers offers no basis for revising Marxism. As Lenin wrote, "In contrast to the general fear of the growth of the proletariat, Marx and Engels pinned all their hopes on the uninterrupted growth of the proletariat."

When capitalism, at the turn of the century, arrived at its monopoly imperialist stage, there were almost 30 million industrial workers in the more advanced capitalist countries. Today there are more than 100 million industrial workers in these countries, a more than 230 percent increase—yet another striking confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the "uninterrupted" growth and role of the industrial "front-rankers."

The continuing increase of industrial workers is the reality at the core of all social, economic and political developments within contemporary state monopoly capitalism, refuting those who claim that the vast growth in scientific and professional workers overshadows or replaces the Marxist-Leninist concept of the "front-rankers." The industrial working class is being neither automated nor "integrated" out of existence!

Of course, the scientific and technological revolution has not only brought about a tremendous increase in professional and service work-

ers. It also accounts for the emergence of many new professions and services, and vast changes in the composition of the working population—including workers of both hand and brain. The scientific and technological revolution has also accounted for profound changes in many other industries, as well as the increasing emergence of new industries. But throughout these changes, the industrial working class has continued to be both the decisive productive force and dominant class force, confronting monopoly from strategic positions at the center of every industry, old and new. This is the basis for the centrality of the industrial proletariat's role as the representative of the interests of the great mass of the people. The anti-Marxist theories denying the "uninterrupted" growth and vanguard role of the industrial working class do a disservice not only to the working class, but to the majority of professional and scientific workers as well.

Radicals who assert that all wage workers merge with the working class have introduced a concept of open-ended extension of the boundaries of the working class. By equating all wage and salaried workers with the working class, they open additional byways for positions based on class collaboration instead of class struggle.

Lenin, as we have noted, did not equate all professional and other categories of non-industrial workers with the working class. Instead of referring to the scientific and professional categories as a single entity—and therefore a *class*—he characterized them as a "stratum," "occupying a special position" between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

Those theories based on the idea of a merger of the "stratum" between monopoly capital and the working class *with* the working class, obscure the special role the working class must play in winning the majority of this "stratum" as *allies* in the anti-monopoly struggle.

Today a mammoth potential exists for building an independent, popular anti-monopoly movement. To realize this, great Marxist-Leninist insight must be exercised in formulating policies and tactics that clearly differentiate between the interest of professional workers whose function serves monopoly, and the increasing number of professional workers whose function and position bring them closer to a common interest with the working class.

The new allies and additions to the working class confirm, not refute, the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of production workers as the unifying nucleus of the working class. Just as no change in the role of science and technology can put the university on the plane of industry in the class struggle, no change in working-class structure can put the

role of scientific, professional, clerical or service workers on the plane of the industrial working class, the leading force in carrying out the mission of the working class as the grave-diggers of capitalism, the builders of socialism.

Lenin carried on a ceaseless struggle against both "Left" and reformist views that downgraded the role of the front-rank detachment of the working class. He saw (as had Marx and Engels) that capitalism's tendency to expand the proletariat and decrease the number of capitalists emphasized even more strongly the special role of the basic production workers, the most cohesive sector of the working class. And this is the view of Marxist-Leninists today, as can be seen in the following statement of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969:

In this age when science is becoming a direct productive force, growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their social interests intertwine with those of the working class; their creative aspirations clash with the interests of the monopoly employers, who place profit above all else. Despite the great diversity in their positions, different groups of intellectuals are coming more and more into conflict with the monopolies and the imperialist policy of governments. The crisis of bourgeois ideology and the attraction of socialism help to bring intellectuals into the anti-imperialist struggle. The alliance of workers by hand and by brain is becoming an increasingly important force for peace, democracy and social progress. (*International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow, 1969*, Peace and Socialism Publishers, Prague, 1969, p. 25)

In this analysis we can see the positive yet contradictory role of these newly expanded sectors of the working class: The "social interests" of the majority of scientific, professional and service workers—coming into increasing conflict with monopoly's interests—"intertwine" with those of the working class; yet there is "great diversity" in their "positions." In other words, they lack the cohesiveness of the basic production sector.

It is the "great diversity" in the positions of these new wage and salaried workers that accounts for the "diversity" of ideological tendencies so prevalent among them. The interests of the majority lie with the working class against the monopolist exploiters. Many of them, because of the nature of the services they perform, have special ties with corporate capital. This is why even when their "aspirations" clash with monopoly's interests, they tend to waver. In actuality, they come into conflict with monopoly only to the extent that they identify with and

accept the leadership of the "front rankers" of the working class. By contrast, the industrial working class occupies the most strategic position in relation to monopoly and is the *least* diverse sector.

Transforming "Diversity" into Unity

The Leninist concept of the front-rank role of the basic sector of the working class is negated, certain radicals contend, by the fact that all sectors have a common interest in fighting the monopolist exploiter and oppressor. According to this one-sided, purely economic view, the common experience of all workers in selling their labor power for a wage or salary means that *any* sector could, at one time or another, become the primary force for change. But this narrow approach contradicts dialectical and historical materialism, the basis of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism.

Certainly, most of those who sell their labor power of hand or brain have common interests in opposing the monopolist exploiters. But this is only one of the many material and social factors relevant to a strategy for waging the class struggle.

Class consciousness must be expanded from its minimum form—the recognition of the common interest of the majority who sell their labor power—to a higher level: the recognition that all who have a common interest in fighting monopoly do not have a common place within the capitalist system from which to carry on that fight. Only by identifying the specific differences within the "diversity of positions" of wage workers is it possible to transform "diversity" *under* monopoly to unity *against* monopoly. Too many radicals fail to understand the interrelation between the struggle for unity *within* the working class and the working class's mission of uniting and leading its allies.

This is why it is imperative to recognize that while the basic industrial sector has a common interest with the majority of wage workers, it does not have an identical place with them in the system of capitalist exploitation and the struggle against it. Because of its unique position, this sector is decisive in forging the unity of all the diverse segments of wage workers and in forming an alliance between the workers of hand and brain with all the exploited and oppressed.

Not only is this industrial nucleus the most cohesive sector of the working class, it is also the greatest *direct* producer of surplus value, the source of capitalist profits. And, to a greater degree than any of the other producers of surplus value, the "front rankers" occupy the *central* position within the system: they are the ones who, in the struggle for the division of value they produce, most directly confront the decisive

Class, Race and Black Liberation

sectors of monopoly. Thus, the influence of this industrial nucleus—the most potent force in the class struggle—is decisive in every aspect of the economic, social and political battle of the exploited and oppressed.

Many radicals, under the influence of anti-Marxist concepts, have interpreted the fact that the technological and scientific revolution increases the rate and extent to which capitalism catapults ever larger segments of the population into the working class to mean that the center of gravity of the class struggle has shifted away from the industrial nucleus. Just the opposite is true: It is the development of the class consciousness of the "front rankers" that will bring the new scientific, professional and service workers more and more into the orbit of class struggle. It is the "front rankers" who will provide the most consistent leadership in raising the struggle to higher levels, i.e., independent class political action and the formation of a broad people's anti-monopoly movement based on the unity of the multi-racial working class.

Further, in the United States an added factor intensifies the impact of the industrial nucleus—the approximately three million Black "front rankers." The revolutionary initiative of these specially exploited and oppressed workers—situated in proportionally greater numbers than non-Blacks in the most strategic sector of the class struggle—is becoming an ever more potent force for uniting the entire working class, Black, white, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian and Native American. And within the ranks of the Black industrial workers, the future of the Black liberation movement under working-class leadership is in formation.

When one considers this multi-racial composition of the U.S. working class, the concept that the center of gravity has shifted away from the industrial proletariat stands revealed as no less than capitulation to class-collaborationist policies of the Meanys and Abels and Shankers—policies in which racism and anti-Communism are the main ingredients.

It is, of course, inevitable that if one surrenders to racism, one surrenders to anti-Communism—and vice versa. Racist oppression of Black people and division of the working class was the basis for the rise of capitalist exploitation and wealth, developing into imperialist oppression on a world scale. And later, with the growth of the international socialist movement and the victory of the October Revolution over class exploitation and national oppression, imperialism gave anti-Communism twin status with its original weapon of racism. Today, with the increasing ascendancy of the world socialist system, imperialism merges anti-Communism and racism ever more closely in its efforts to stave off extinction.

Front Rankers in the Class Struggle

Estimating the Impact

In estimating the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, the Communist Party rejects both the Right opportunist view that the increase of scientific and service wage workers is now the *central* factor in the class struggle, and the "Left" view that dismisses the working class's increasing size and complexity as irrelevant.

According to the Right opportunist concept, the special role of the industrial detachment has been rendered obsolete by the sheer size of the working class, and the leadership of the struggle at one moment or another will be taken over by one or another sector of service, scientific or professional workers, or even by students.

At the same time, the rhetoric of the "Leftists" on the role of the working class does not hide the fact that their concepts would disrupt instead of unify, by isolating the industrial sector from other sectors, and from the allies of the working class. In actuality, these "Leftists" frequently end up sharing the Right opportunists' "disappointment" in the working class, leaving them easy prey for the "latest" in adventurism or other forms of pseudo-revolutionary accommodation.

In the 1890s, certain radicals attempted to deny the special role of the "front rankers" on the empirical grounds that they had not yet acquired a consciousness of their historic mission. Of these radicals—the ideological antecedents of those who today assert that the historic mission of the industrial proletariat has been made obsolete by science and technology—Lenin, in 1894, wrote:

In addition to presenting historical facts in a false light and forgetting the vast amount of work done by the socialists in lending consciousness and organization to the working-class movement, our philosophers foist upon Marx the most senseless fatalistic views. In his opinion, they assure us, the organization and socialization of the workers occur spontaneously, and, consequently, if we see capitalism but do not see a working-class movement, that is because capitalism is not fulfilling its mission, and not because we are still doing too little in the matter of organization and propaganda among the workers. This cowardly petty-bourgeois artifice of our exceptionalist philosophers is not worth refuting: it is refuted . . . by every public speech made by any Marxist. (*Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 320)

What was required, continued Lenin, was that:

. . . our socialists must set to work with the utmost energy, they must work out in greater detail the Marxist conception of the history and present position of Russia, and make a more concrete investiga-

tion of all forms of the class struggle and exploitation, which are particularly complex and masked in Russia. They must, furthermore, popularize this theory and make it known to the workers; they must help the worker to assimilate it and devise *the form of organization most SUITABLE under our conditions for disseminating Social-Democratic ideas and welding the workers into a political force*. And the Russian Social-Democrats, far from ever having said that they have already completed, fulfilled this work of the ideologists of the working class [there is no end to this work], have always stressed the fact that they are only just beginning it, and that much effort by many, many persons will be required to create anything lasting. (Ibid., pp. 320-321)

Lenin's comments about those who "see capitalism but do not see the working-class movement" have a particular relevancy today. To understand the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, one must be able to distinguish between the effect of the scientific and technological revolution and the effect of the class struggle on the lives of the new wage workers. Those radicals unable to make this distinction reflect a certain detachment from the class struggle, which leads them to misconstrue the Communist policy of concentration on the industrial working class to mean that the Communist Party "plays favorites," putting one sector of workers over and against others. However, the Party does not base its policies on subjective "preferences," but on the Marxist-Leninist science of class struggle.

Thus, the Party places its industrial concentration policy at the center of its strategy. Merging theory with practice, it recruits into its ranks the best fighters among the "front rankers." At the same time, it also recruits the most devoted fighters from all other segments of the working class. In this way, the Party plays its role in uniting all detachments of the working class, in representing the interests of the entire class. "This struggle," stated Lenin, "places [leads] the working-class movement onto the high road, and is the certain guarantee of its future success." (*Collected Works*, Vol 2, pp. 114-115)

Tracing Back a "New Theory"

That different segments of the new scientific, professional or service workers can at one time or another replace the industrial workers is an idea whose genealogy can be traced to a long line of infamous ancestors—none other than the notorious "labor lieutenants of capital," Samuel Gompers, William Green and Matthew Woll. The policies of these craft unionists—the class-collaborationist predecessors of the Meanys, Lovestones, Abels and Shankers—foreshadowed the

theories of those radicals who assert that the Marxist concept of the industrial nucleus is no longer valid, and proclaim that the leading role can be played by this or that sector of the new scientific, service or professional "crafts."

In the early stages of capitalism, craft unions played a positive role in organizing workers. But as manufacturing developed into large-scale industry, followed by the dominance of the monopolies, craft unionism came more and more to mean class-collaboration and racism. Starting with Gompers's day, and coinciding with U.S. capitalism's imperialist stage, craft unionism has served as the main form for imposing policies that betray the interest of the multi-racial working class as a whole.

But today the ruling class can no longer place its exclusive reliance on this or that "blue-collar" craft to maintain policies aimed at preventing the complete organization of the working class, and especially to keep the industrial nucleus from carrying out its leading role. Therefore, monopoly today also seeks assistance from this or that "white-collar craft" to perpetuate the policies directed against the mounting thrust of the "front rankers," the only sector capable of uniting the class as a whole.

Obviously, a "radical" theory that undermines the role of the industrial nucleus by claiming it can be replaced by one or another "white-collar craft" is of great assistance to monopoly in carrying out its traditional policies under new conditions. From its inception, the Communist Party has fought such theories of American "exceptionalism" to Marxism-Leninism, whether expressed by the Lovestonites, Trotskyites or others. This ideological struggle was the vital precondition for the policies and rank-and-file initiatives leading to the defeat of the Greens and Wolls in the great class battles that culminated in the organization of the "front rankers" in auto, steel, transport and other mass industries.

The Communists played a long and outstanding role in the battles that forged the way to industrial organization. The struggles they initiated and led in the 1920s formed a *direct class struggle link* to the sit-down strikes and the rise of the CIO in the 1930s. Three years after the Great Steel Strike of 1919, led by William Z. Foster, the Communists formed the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL). In the late 1920s the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), the successor to the TUEL, organized the National Unemployment Councils—merging the struggle of the unemployed for jobs with the fight to organize the unorganized, especially in mass production.

On March 6, 1930, the first of the great demonstrations of the unemployed took place. This day of nation-wide protest was preceded

by massive red-baiting in the press, featuring attacks from the AFL officialdom. Matthew Woll, for example, claimed the TUUL got two million dollars from Moscow to organize the campaign. (In those days, the fighters for working-class unity had to contend with such crudities as "Moscow agent" and "Moscow gold," which, of course, have been replaced in this age of sophistication with such "subtleties" as "catalyst" and "Soviet image.") Despite these attacks, one and a half million turned out across the country, including 110,000 in New York City and 100,000 in Detroit.

Three years after these demonstrations, the Communist Party called an extraordinary conference with a single objective: to bring the Party's industrial concentration policy to a new level in organizing the unorganized, especially in mass production and transport. In conjunction with the conference, the leadership called for building the Communist Party as the key to advancing the industrial organization of the multi-racial working class.

Out of this conference came the strategy and organizing forces that smashed the open shop and brought industrial unionism to the strategic sectors of industry. From the pioneering ideological and organizational initiatives of this extraordinary conference came the parallel yet interconnected struggle leading to the emergence of the CIO and the unfolding in new forms of the Black liberation movement's long battle against oppression. Directly linked to Communist initiatives for Black and white unity in the Birmingham steel mills were the battles against lynch law and for freedom in the Angelo Herndon and Scottsboro cases. These struggles merged with those leading to the sit-down strikes and a new level of working-class organization, of challenge to the racist class at the very center of its power in the mass production industries.

Because these great advances and the victory over fascism in World War II were followed by the decades of McCarthy, McCarran and Taft-Hartley attacks—of which the Communist Party bore the brunt—and hot and cold war, many do not recognize the fact that monopoly failed in the objectives of its anti-Communist crusade. Instead of "rolling back" or "containing" socialism and the anti-imperialist movement, U.S. monopoly was itself forced to "roll back" from one position after another on a world scale. Ever greater impetus has been given to the struggle to "contain" U.S. imperialism within the strategy of peaceful coexistence, peaceful trade and non-intervention in the affairs of countries—including those taking the path of independence, away from neo-colonialism, and in more and more instances, the still more advanced non-capitalist path of development.

The socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties of

the world, together with all anti-imperialist forces, have brought the struggle to roll back imperialism's global positions to a new stage—opening up unprecedented perspectives for the working classes and peoples of the world.

Against this background can be seen both the analogy and the difference between the situation today and at the time of the extraordinary conference in 1933. Today, as then, building the Communist Party is the key to carrying out the Party's industrial concentration policy. But the difference in level of opportunities between 1933 and the present is incalculable: in the making in the United States is a counterpart of what is developing on a world scale.

Building the Communist Party is the single most important element in speeding the fight against the racist, class-collaborationist policies of labor's betrayers, uniting the entire working class around the mighty "front rankers," bringing about a breakaway from the two-party system, and building independent political leadership of the working class within a broad anti-monopoly strategy—to "roll back" monopoly and advance an alternative to war, poverty, racism and repression.

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